

**A Study of Cultural Content in the British ELT Global Coursebook:
a Cultural Studies Approach.**

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John Gray', with a stylized, cursive script.

John Gray

Abstract

This thesis investigates cultural content in a sample of British ELT global coursebooks published over the past three decades from a cultural studies perspective. Using a constructionist epistemology, the study aims to identify the nature of cultural content, to account for the form it takes and to examine what a group of Barcelona-based teachers think about such content and the role of culture in ELT. The research design is based on a modified version of the ‘circuit of culture’ proposed by Du Gay, Hall *et al.* (1997) for the investigation of the construction of meanings associated with cultural artefacts.

A descriptive framework, combining elements of content analysis and social semiotics, is applied to four best-selling coursebooks. Their ‘representational repertoires’ are shown to be typified by a pervasive ‘native speakerism’, and the deployment of discourses of feminism, multiculturalism, individualism and consumerism, alongside the ongoing globalizing of content. This content is partly explained by referring to publishers’ guidelines and interviews with publishers, in which a discourse analysis approach is used. However, it is only by turning to the literatures on visual communication, consumerism and the concept of promotional culture that a fuller explanation can be provided.

What emerges is a picture of a carefully constructed artefact, only some of whose meanings resonate with those of the teachers. Interviews reveal that they construe their practice in terms of teaching English as an international language for predominantly lingua franca purposes. Broad approval for the representational practices associated with gender and race does not extend to the pervasive ‘native speakerism’ or content which is seen as irrelevant to the context of instruction. The thesis suggests that the form cultural content takes is best decided by locals for whom English may have a range of meanings other than those determined for them by British ELT publishers.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Gerard Gray.

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CHAPTER 1

GETTING STARTED

1.1 Introduction

My interest in materials and my belief in their centrality to the process of English language teaching and learning are related to three aspects of my work over the last two decades. These are as a classroom teacher, teaching English as a foreign language mainly in Catalonia, as a teacher trainer and teacher educator in the UK and abroad, and as a writer of materials for the Spanish state school system. Following Tomlinson (1998: xi), I will use the term *materials* broadly to mean:

Anything which is used to help to teach language learners. Materials can be in the form of a textbook, a workbook, a cassette, a CD-Rom, a video, a photocopied handout, a newspaper, a paragraph written on the whiteboard: anything which presents or informs about the language being learned.

It is generally assumed that materials play an important role in structuring the English language lesson. Hutchinson and Torres (1994: 319) have argued that the coursebook is crucial in ‘pinning down the procedures of the classroom’ and imposing a structure on the ‘dynamic interaction’ characteristic of language teaching and learning.

Allwright (1981, 1991) too has described the language lesson in dynamic terms as a co-production by the teacher and the learners in interaction with materials. In similar vein, Kramsch (1988: 78) has posited a key role for the coursebook, suggesting that it provides a source of ‘ideational scaffolding’ for learning. The importance of the role of materials is also reflected in many kinds of teacher training and teacher education programmes. For example, Cambridge certificate and diploma courses in English Language Teaching (hereafter ELT) include appropriate use of materials and materials evaluation as competencies to be developed by successful candidates (see syllabi at www.cambridgeesol.org). In addition, as McGrath (2002) points out, many MA ELT/TESOL programmes increasingly offer modules in materials design and evaluation.

The type of material which forms the principal focus of attention in this thesis is the *global coursebook*. This term refers to that genre of English language textbook which is produced as part of a series in English-speaking countries and is designed for use as the core text in language classrooms around the world. These texts, accompanied by workbooks, tapes, and possibly CD-ROMs, are generally aimed at young adult learners.

In this introductory chapter I give an account of my growing awareness that such commercially produced global materials, although designed explicitly for the teaching of language, are also in themselves highly wrought artefacts and carriers of complex cultural messages. Apple (1985) has argued along similar lines and suggests that the form textbooks take is often the result of battles and compromises which may be said to constitute a form of cultural politics. While they may have been designed for use as educational tools, they are also embodiments of ‘particular constructions of reality’ (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991: 3), and, most importantly, commodities to be traded in the market place. Similar views have also been expressed more recently by Kullman (2003: 250) who sees the ELT coursebook as the embodiment of a discourse which is both ‘constructed and constructing’. In many ways my decision to embark on this thesis was the result of my efforts to understand the constructed nature of such materials and the ways in which they are construed by teachers - their primary consumers. By describing teachers thus I wish to draw attention to the fact that in many ELT contexts coursebooks are selected by teachers themselves, and even in those contexts where they are chosen by Ministries of Education, teachers retain considerable power in determining the uses to which they are put in the classroom.

I begin with a series of autobiographical snapshots, each of which contributed to my growing sense of the need to problematize the role that coursebooks play in ELT. In this I am influenced by the literature on teachers’ stories (Abbs 1974, Berk 1980, Woods 1993, Thomas 1995), which Elbaz (1991: 13) has described as providing the necessary ‘high-context knowledge’ needed to balance the ‘low-context knowledge’ of non-practitioner research. Thomas (1995: xiv) too has argued that the value of teachers’ stories lies in the fact that they are, however ‘individual, subjective and solipsistic’, rooted in chalkface specificities at the heart of so many teachers’ concerns. Their increasing use in educational research (see, for example, Johnson & Golombek

[2002]) marks the incorporation of teachers' voices into a discourse which has been, in his view, excessively monologic. The use of autobiographical snapshots in this chapter is also congruent with my overall aim in the thesis to incorporate the voices of practising teachers into my examination of the global coursebook. My approach in the following snapshots is particularly indebted to Kramsch (1993) who draws directly on vignettes and critical incidents from teaching in order to raise theoretical issues which are grounded in classroom realities.

1.2 Snapshots from the classroom

The snapshots, related to teaching, training, and materials writing, are all anecdotal but I believe they raise issues which invite closer consideration. In each case the snapshot is prefaced by a description of the background and is followed by a discussion of the issues which arise. I also follow Kramsch (1993) stylistically in using the present tense to introduce the snapshots.

1.2.1 *Snapshot 1*

Background

I am teaching a General English class in a large language school in Barcelona in the early 1990s. The students are a group of young Catalan adults at lower intermediate level - that is they have completed at least a hundred hours of English language learning. They are typical of many of the students in the school in that they come to evening classes after finishing work or after their university classes. We are using *The New Cambridge English Course 2* (Swan & Walter 1990a) and working on basic situational/functional language - giving directions, making an appointment, borrowing, etc. As a lead-in to the language, the first exercise asks the students to look at a set of coloured drawings and answer the question 'What is happening in the pictures?'

Snapshot

I pre-teach some essential vocabulary and then follow the procedure outlined in the coursebook. After a time I check the activity in open-class format by nominating

various students. I ask one of the younger members of the class for an answer to picture number 8 (see Fig. 1.1), expecting him to say ‘borrowing’ or ‘lending’. He does not answer immediately. The picture shows a white man with outstretched hands and a black man taking money from a wallet. The student looks at me and after a while says ‘Un atraco’ (a mugging).

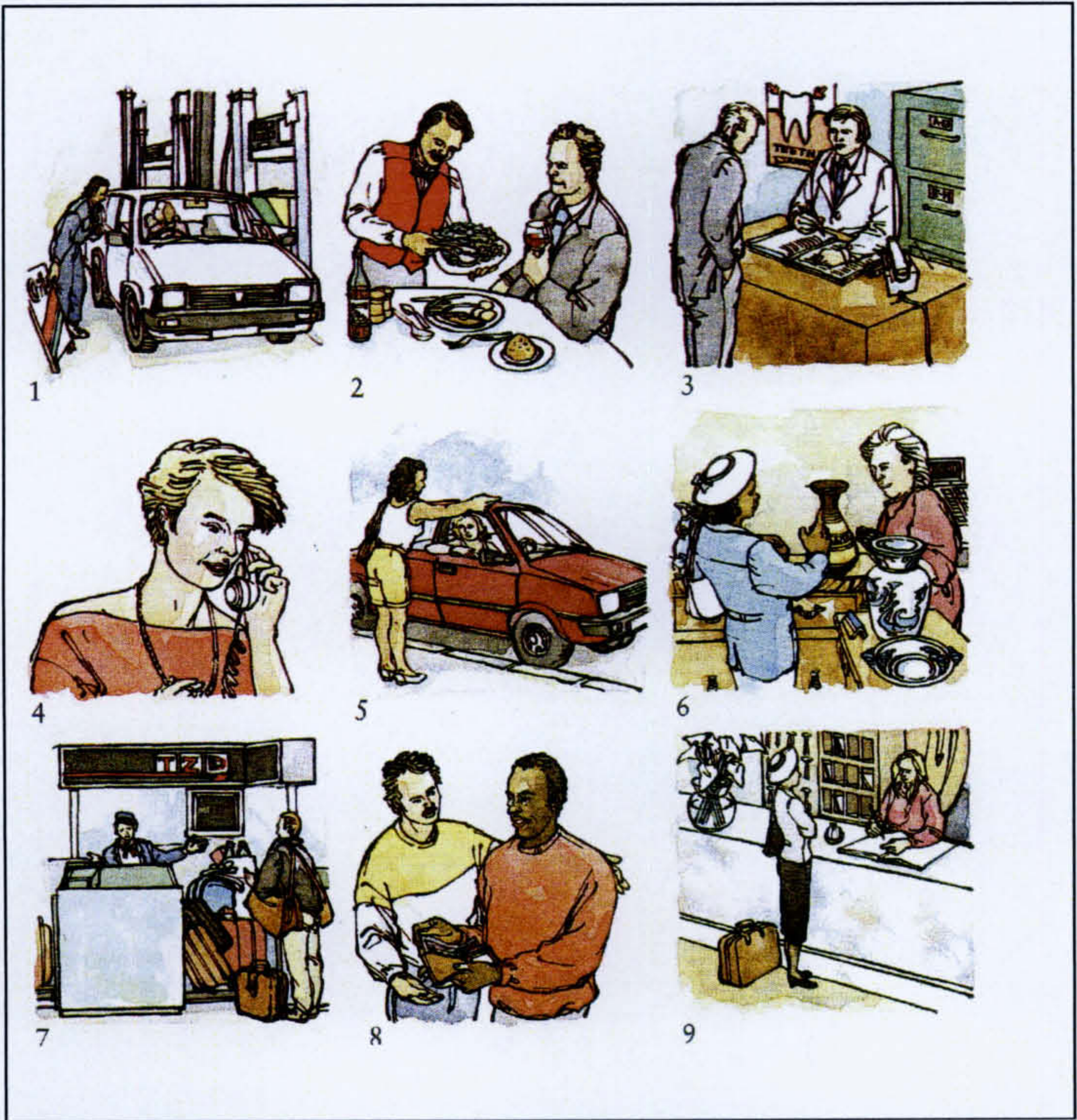


Fig. 1.1 Situational/functional language (Swan & Walter 1990a)

Discussion

The student’s response can be interpreted in two ways - as either a genuine comprehension problem or as one of feigned incomprehension. Beginning with the former, the problem is potentially one of schematic mismatch. Widdowson (1990) points out that two types of knowledge - systemic and schematic - are called into play in the expression and interpretation of meanings. The former refers to knowledge of the language system while the latter refers to knowledge of context. Schematic knowledge, he explains, is the knowledge ‘we have of the particular world we live in, our beliefs, ideas, experiences, cultural values, and so on’ (ibid: 163). In the case of second language learning the student’s schematic knowledge may require adjustment

for comprehension to take place. Cook (1997: 86) argues that schema theory is important for language teaching as it 'can help explain students' comprehension problems and suggest the kind of background knowledge they need' for the successful interpretation of meaning. Hewings (1991: 238), in his study of the interpretation of illustrations in ELT materials, explains how his motivation for the study was triggered by classroom observation, where it became apparent that

the interpretation of printed illustrations by teachers and [...] students was, not infrequently, rather different. The usual consequence of this was that the students gave the wrong answer or did an exercise incorrectly. While the cause was usually taken by the teacher to be a problem with English, the true cause may in fact have been one of different perceptions of an illustration.

Although Catalonia was not a culturally or racially homogenous region in the early 1990s, it had not witnessed the same degree of media debate conducted around issues of multiculturalism which characterized many parts of the English speaking world from the 1980s onwards. It is just possible that the student may have been less sensitized to issues surrounding the representation of ethnic minorities in various media, including educational textbooks, and drawn instead on his own (negative) schema for the scenario in the illustration. However, as I will show later, British ELT publishers were far from indifferent to such debates and many of the practices associated with them. The image of a white man borrowing money from a black friend, while potentially more representative of British experience, was certainly, I will argue, representative of a stance being taken on multiculturalism by the publishers.

On the other hand the student's response could be seen as an instance of an oppositional stance being taken over the inclusion of such an image in a coursebook for the teaching of English as a foreign language. It is possible that the image was read as an example of 'political correctness' - that is, in terms of those linguistic and representational practices which are designed to promote inclusivity and to avoid offending or demeaning women, members of ethnic minorities, disabled people, etc.- but, in this instance, and in line with critics such as Hughes (1993), negatively understood as indicating an obsessive concern with such matters.

Ultimately I cannot be sure about the reason for the student's response. However, the incident was significant in that it led to a realization on my part that coursebook content might not be seen in quite the same way by students and teachers, and that my own reading of the coursebook was also filtered through culturally determined schemata. In spite of the problem which arose I also recognized that the inclusivity of the image was something I believed *should* be in a coursebook. As Apple (1992: 10) has argued, it is not only students, but teachers too, who bring their 'classed, raced, and gendered biographies' with them into the classroom. The snapshot serves to raise the broader question of what kind of 'carrier content' (i.e. the characters, situations, texts, and artwork used to contextualize the language being taught) teachers and publishers consider appropriate for global coursebooks, and what the purpose of this content is.

1.2.2 Snapshot 2

Background

I am teaching on a certificate teacher training course at the same institution. Short pre-service certificate courses are normally delivered by three trainers to a maximum of fifteen trainees. Mornings consist of input seminars on ELT methodology and language analysis and the afternoons are taken up with teaching practice classes, which are followed by guided lesson planning for the following day. Trainees are divided into three groups for teaching practice - each group the responsibility of one trainer. The material they use in their practice lessons comes from global coursebooks and is allocated to them by the trainers. At the end of the day trainers often meet to discuss the course and how the trainees are progressing.

Snapshot

At the end of a long day I meet a colleague in the school coffee bar to discuss teaching practice. She explains how one of the trainees who has been doing well on the course suddenly became angry during guided lesson planning and refused to teach the material he had been allocated. The material, which was taken from *The Beginner's Choice* (Acklam & Mohammed 1992), consisted of a listening exercise in

which students talked about fast food and a reading which reproduced an advertisement for McDonald's (see Fig. 1.2). The artwork also featured a half page photograph showing a multiracial group of smiling young people in a McDonald's restaurant. The trainee argued that coursebooks should not provide advertising space for companies like McDonald's and that he did not want to promote McDonald's in his teaching.



Fig. 1.2 Talking about fast food (Acklam & Mohammed 1992)

Discussion

This trainee's unease resonates with much scholarly concern voiced over the last fifteen years. A wave of books, written from Marxist (Dendrinos 1992, Phillipson 1992, Holborow 1999), reformist (Holliday 1994a), postmodernist, or poststructuralist perspectives (Pennycook 1994, 1998, Canagarajah 1999, Holliday 2005), have been instrumental in stimulating a considerable degree of soul searching within ELT. What these books have in common is a belief that the global spread of English is inherently problematic, inextricably linked to wider political issues, and that ELT practices are neither value free, nor always culturally appropriate.

Two areas which have received attention in the literature are the marketing and the content of textbooks. Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) have argued that government financing of teaching materials for developing world countries has a hidden economic and ideological dimension, while Canagarajah (1999: 99) has described the cultural content of North American textbooks being used in Sri Lanka as 'alien and intrusive'. Elsewhere Thomas (1999) has documented the way in which British ELT publishers were quick to establish themselves in Slovakia and market books which were under-selling elsewhere. Beyond the world of ELT, a report produced for *The Economist* (McCallan 1990) following the downfall of the Berlin Wall advocated the supply of ELT textbooks to the newly independent countries of the east as having considerable promotional potential for British trade.

A lesson based around an advertisement for McDonald's may have been seen by the writers of *The Beginner's Choice* as innocuous - the sheer ubiquity of McDonald's in many countries providing them with sufficient justification for its inclusion in a coursebook aimed at the global market. But such a view, it could be argued, ignores the fact that the reading - however decontextualized - remains an advertisement for a powerful global company. Its inclusion in a language teaching coursebook where it is treated mainly as a source of language cannot be said to completely negate its original function.

It has been suggested that pedagogic texts come imbued with an authority which makes contestation by teachers and students difficult (Luke *et al.* 1989, Dendrinos 1992). But as Apple (1992), Hutchinson and Torres (1994) and Canagarajah (1999) show, contestation is not only possible - it also takes place. However, a small-scale survey I carried out in Barcelona suggests that beginning teachers do not have the confidence to challenge the authority of the coursebook - either by adapting material they dislike or by making it available for critical discussion in the classroom (Gray 2000). The trainee in the snapshot, I would suggest, did not have the experience or the confidence to use the material in a way other than that suggested by the rubric. On a short training course, where his performance in the classroom was constantly being evaluated, he may also have been unaware that alternative ways of using published material were even permissible.

The snapshot raises the issue of ELT's involvement in processes beyond the linguistic and the pedagogic. Clearly I am not suggesting that *The Beginner's Choice* was sponsored by McDonald's - although corporate sponsorship of mainstream educational material is becoming increasingly common in the United States (Klein 2000). Rather, I wish to suggest that teachers may feel that coursebooks can introduce elements into their teaching which do not accord with their views on the scope and aims of ELT. In this particular instance the trainee teacher may have felt that the coursebook presented a controversial global company in a positive and unproblematic light, while at the same time providing it with advertising space. Simply following the rubric may have seemed like teacher endorsement of such a practice.

1.2.3 Snapshot 3

Background

It is the mid 1990s and I have been asked by Oxford University Press to write the Teacher's Book for a secondary school coursebook being written to meet the demands of the new Spanish national curriculum. The coursebook, which would be called *Shout!* (Nolasco 1997), is aimed at younger teenage students and has been written by a successful British-based materials writer. The publishers have provided me with translations and summaries of all key Ministry of Education documents to enable me

to refer where appropriate to the *temas transversales* - the social themes which inform the curriculum. Although not designed as a global coursebook the publishers did want to sell the course in other countries if it proved successful in Spain. In fact *Shout!* was successful in Spain and went on to sell in eastern Europe and South America. For these editions all specifically Spanish references were excised from the Student's book and the Teacher's book.

Snapshot

Unit 4 of the coursebook is about the North American actor River Phoenix and his death from drugs. Students are taken through a reading and listening cycle before being asked to write about a famous person of their own choice from history. Questions are provided in the Student's Book to enable them to structure their answer e.g. When was this person born? Where did she/he go to school? Did she/he get married? Did she/he have a happy life?

One of my tasks is to provide optional material in the Teacher's Book. For this exercise I choose three well-known Spanish artists and writers and provide biographical data on each of them (see Fig. 1.3). If students have few ideas of their own then teachers can write the biographical data on the board to help with the writing. One of those I choose is Lorca. Against the category 'married' I put 'no'. I toy briefly with the notion of adding that Lorca was homosexual or gay and then decide that there is no point as the editor will probably remove it.

Possible answers

He didn't get enough love and attention when he was a child.

His parents were divorced.

He hated school and he was lonely.

He had to work very hard.

He had stomach pains.

He had a drug problem.

WRITING (Student's Book page 33)

► Read the instructions with the class and ask students to choose a famous person to write about. Students may already have collected information about a famous person (see the *Option* on page 49). If they need ideas, you might like to suggest they write about Picasso, Lorca or Dalí (see *Option* below).

► Ask students to answer the questions in their notebooks.

► Ask: *How many paragraphs were there in the Kurt Cobain article? (4) What were the topics? (childhood, career/work, private life, death)* Write these on the board and suggest students use some of these topics in their articles.

► Students use their notes to write their articles.

► When they have finished, ask them to look back at the *Self check* in Issue 2 (page 15). They should check through their paragraphs, making corrections where necessary.

► Finish the exercise by asking students to exchange and read each other's articles in small groups. Go round the groups and help students to correct simple past tense mistakes.

For all abilities

► If student cannot think of a famous person to write about, you may like to give them the following information. You could write the information on the board, or photocopy it and give it to students.

Pablo Picasso
Born: 1881
Where: Málaga
School: Málaga
Married: many times and many love affairs

Why famous: great painter, inventor of Cubism, painted *Guernica*
Died: 1973
Life: happy as an old man, poor and sometimes hungry as a young painter

Federico García Lorca
Born: 1898
Where: Fuente Vaqueros, Andalucía
School: Granada
Married: No
Why famous: great poet and playwright
Died: murdered by Nationalists in 1936
Life: short and passionate, sometimes unhappy, many friends

Salvador Dalí
Born: 1904
Where: Figueras
School: Figueras
Married: No, but lived with his mistress Gala for many years
Why famous: one of the most important Surrealist painters
Died: 1989
Life: became very rich, died after a long illness

extra!

(Student's Book page 33)

1 ► If the whole class are doing the activity, ask them to repeat the pronunciation of the names after you. If only a few students in the class are doing it, check their pronunciation individually while they are doing the first exercise.

► Students name the members of the group. They should write their answers in their notebooks.

2 ► Ask each student to choose a pop group and play the guessing game with a partner.

Fig. 1.3 Shout! Teacher's File 1 (Gray & Nolasco 1997)

Discussion

Littlejohn's (1992) research on coursebooks concluded that the relationship between the author and the ELT publisher is essentially that of an agent writing to an agenda determined by the publisher. My own experience confirms this - the editor I had most contact with during the writing went so far as to claim that a number of well-known coursebooks had been so reworked by their editors that it could be said the editors were in fact the real authors. Publishers' demands extend beyond methodological and language syllabus requirements. The authors of the successful *Headway* series are on record as saying that the degree of 'political correctness' required of them by their publishers was a source of dispute (Soars & Soars 2000). The publishers' agendas as expressed in their guidelines for authors - an area I will examine in greater detail in Chapter 7 - address a number of issues to do with representation, one of which is the non-sexist representation of women and men.

Early surveys of sexism in ELT materials (Hill 1980, Porreca 1984) concluded that women were under-represented, trivialized and stereotyped in a wide selection of British and North American coursebooks. Thornbury (1999) points out that many of the iniquities identified by Porreca (1984) have since been redressed, but he adds that the policy of omission she had identified with regard to women still applies to lesbians and gays.

Gayness is about as omitted as anything can be. The EFL situation mirrors the way Hollywood used to be, where “gay characters and references to the existence of homosexuality were routinely laundered off the screen for the better part of half a century” [...] And it is not just coursebooks that are de-gayned. Significantly, the issue of heterosexism is glaringly absent from discussions of material bias and cultural content (Thornbury 1999: 15).

Thornbury goes on to make the case for the discreet incorporation of lesbian and gay characters into coursebooks aimed at the global market through the inclusion of same-sex flatmates, unmarried uncles in units on the family, and holiday postcards from well-known gay destinations. The rationale behind such an approach, ‘apart from discreetly acknowledging a significant segment of [the publishers’] clientele’ (ibid: 17), is that it would allow those teachers and students who are not afraid of the topic to address it in the classroom - should they wish to.

Burke (2000) goes much further and claims that the way in which publishers ignore same-sex orientation amounts to a form of discrimination. Excluding lesbians and gay men from coursebooks is, she argues, out of line with current European Union legislation - in particular Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty which states that discrimination against homosexuals is a violation of equal rights. Writing before its repeal in 2003, Burke attributes lesbian and gay invisibility in British ELT to the climate created by Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act which forbade local authorities in Britain to ‘promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship’ (ibid). It should be pointed out that coursebooks intended for the global market are also used in private language schools, colleges of further education, and university language centres in Britain. Burke proposes that publishers should treat lesbianism and gayness as examples of cultural diversity and she suggests an approach which would incorporate the texts produced by the lesbian and gay community as the basis for language work.

This would, she argues, have the effect of giving lesbian and gay identities an official seal of approval through their incorporation into pedagogic texts, while simultaneously allowing classrooms to reflect more adequately ‘the realities and complexities of society’ (ibid).

I cannot say that I was conscious of Section 28 when I decided to omit the fact of Lorca’s sexuality from the biographical data I was preparing. Rather it was the conspicuous absence of lesbian and gay characters from the published materials I was familiar with which acted as a powerful reminder that any explicit reference to homosexuality was probably going to be removed. As Cameron (1995: 34) has stated elsewhere:

Authors writing for publication not only anticipate that their work will be edited, they participate in editing it even as they write.

As we shall see in Chapter 7, interviews with British ELT publishers confirm that references to homosexuality are generally viewed as inappropriate. One publisher I spoke to lamented the fact that any love interest in storylines aimed at teenage students had to be heterosexual for fear of ‘alienating the market’ (personal communication, 2000). In terms of this introduction the significance of the snapshot lies in the way it drew my attention to this issue and to the issue of exclusion in coursebooks more generally.

1.2.4 Snapshot implications: beyond anecdote

What then are the implications of these snapshots? On one level the stories told above can be seen simply as the personal anecdotes of an individual teacher. Thomas (1995: xiv) has suggested, rightly I believe, that no teacher’s narrative ‘can be regarded as typical or representative’ of all teachers. However, he adds that there will be within each story ‘episodes, experiences and emotions with which teachers can readily identify’ (ibid). While no doubt unique as events, the possibility that the issues raised by the snapshots might be indicative of concerns shared more generally by teachers was a determining factor in the shape this thesis was to take. All three snapshots are

primarily about carrier content and in the following section I suggest that the issues they raise can most usefully be understood under the heading of cultural content.

1.3 Cultural content

Not everyone would necessarily agree with this view of the scope of the cultural. Take, for example, Cook's (1983: 229) view that culture is one of several 'real' but optional types of content. In a survey of six coursebooks Cook found a predominance of what he called 'imaginary' content. He noted a similarity with the content of television soap operas - fictional characters were featured in a variety of imaginary storylines which were designed to entertain students while, he suggested, palliating the pain of language learning. Cook proposed six possible areas of real content to balance this imaginary content: i) another academic subject; ii) student-contributed content; iii) language itself; iv) literature; v) culture; and vi) interesting facts. Cook's view of culture as one coursebook topic among many has much in common with what is called 'background or area studies' in modern languages education in Britain - that is, a focus on the eating and drinking habits of target language speakers, their leisure activities, their institutions, and their political system (see Stern 1983: 250).

My own view, which is influenced by the rise of cultural studies as an academic discipline, and in particular by the work of Stuart Hall (see 2.5 ff.), is that all carrier content is essentially cultural. This represents an expanded view of culture which is concomitant with the so-called 'cultural turn' in the social sciences (see Jameson's (1998) volume on this topic). Sociology, in particular, traditionally privileged the economic sphere as the main object of its attention. However, the post-Marxist 'cultural turn' has meant that culture - an area previously regarded as merely superstructural - is now seen as playing a key role in the construction of contemporary social life. Hall (1997a: 222) argues that

culture is nothing but the sum of the different classificatory and discursive formations, on which language draws in order to give meaning to things. The very term 'discourse' refers to a group of statements in any domain which provides a language for talking about a topic and a way of producing a particular kind of knowledge about that topic. The term refers both to the production of knowledge through language and representation and the way

that knowledge is institutionalized, shaping social practices and setting new practices into play.

On this constructionist view, culture ‘creeps into every nook and crevice of contemporary social life, creating a proliferation of secondary environments, *mediating* everything’ (ibid: 215) - including the production, imaging and consumption of commodities. It is the nature of the secondary environments constructed in the coursebook which make carrier content essentially cultural. These, and other, developments in the concept of culture are discussed more fully in Chapter 2. Suffice it to say here that such an expanded view of culture sees the deliberate inclusion of black characters in pedagogic texts, the setting of dialogues in branded fast food outlets, and the ways in which women (and men) are consistently represented, as constitutive of very particular constructions of reality in which English is given a range of specific associations. The practices which determine carrier content could in fact be said to place culture at the heart of the coursebook.

As a backdrop to my developing interest in the global coursebook as a particular kind of cultural artefact the role of culture itself in modern languages teaching was being, and continues to be, thoroughly re-examined. The proliferation of books, journals, papers, and conferences devoted to the topic and its role in modern languages teaching, coupled with the appearance of terms such as ‘intercultural’ (Byram 1990) and ‘transnational’ (Baumgratz 1987, in Kramsch 1998: 27) communicative competence alongside the notion of the ‘intercultural speaker’ (Kramsch 1998), are all indicative of a reassessment of the aims of language teaching and learning generally.

With regard to English, there is also the realization that it is increasingly being learnt for the purposes of interaction with others for whom it may be a second, third or fourth language - hence the use of terms such as ‘English as an international language’ (EIL) (Pennycook 1994; McKay 2002; 2003; Llurda 2004), ‘English as a means of intercultural communication’ (EIC) (Hyde 1998) and ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ (ELF) (Jenkins 2000; 2003; 2006a; 2006b; Leung 2005; Seidlehofer 2001; 2004). These terms point to a situation in which the previously common ‘English as a foreign language’ (EFL) is no longer seen as an adequate descriptor for the ways in which the language is being used globally. This situation, I would suggest, is linked to

the way in which English is intimately associated with that complex set of interrelated phenomena known as globalization. In the following section, with a view to delineating the broader context for this thesis, I outline the ways in which English and, by extension, ELT are connected with globalization.

1.4 English, ELT and globalization

Although there is no agreed definition of globalization, a cluster of factors are commonly associated with the term. These include the deregulatory policies of economic neoliberalism (Berger 1998/99: 1-4); the rise of transnational corporations and the concomitant challenge to the autonomy to the nation-state (Beck 2000:108ff.); increasing interconnectedness which transcends national boundaries (McGrew 1992: 63); technological developments which compress time and space and make global communications instantaneous (Tomlinson 1999:3); and increasing cultural hybridization (Perlmutter 1991: 902ff.). Depending on how these phenomena are interpreted, globalization has been viewed in dystopian terms as ‘a return to the barbarism of the beginnings of the industrial revolution’ (Berger 1998/99: 2), or it has been described in more celebratory terms as the emergence of a ‘human civilization which is seamless and global [...] with a magnificent variety of indigenous variations on the life experience (Perlmutter 1991: 898). For others such as Tomlinson (1999), Scholte (2000) and Beck (2000), globalization presents both dangers *and* opportunities – its uneven, plural and contradictory manifestations are seen as requiring urgent political and ethical responses on the part of individuals, groups and governments.

As Block (2006) explains there is also no agreement on when globalization may be said to have started, although several commentators see its origins as being more or less coterminous with the birth of the modern European nation state. Conservative historians such as Ferguson (2003: xxi) see globalization largely in terms of the growth of the British Empire and the imposition of a system of political governance, ‘the rule of law’, and the ‘imperialism of free trade’ on a quarter of the world, along with the religious, cultural, population and linguistic flows which this enterprise set in motion. In fact, Ferguson uses the term ‘Anglobalization’ to characterize the way in which the empire, English and globalization were linked (ibid: xxiv). He puts the

English language at the top of his list of distinctive features disseminated by Angloblization and concludes that it has been 'perhaps the most important single export of the last 300 years' (ibid: 366). Similar connections, at least between English and empire, are fundamental to the work of Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994; 1998).

In its contemporary form, globalization can also be seen as continuing this close connection with English. For some, such as Gnutzmann and Intemann (2005: 9), English is '*the* language of globalization'. Elsewhere (Gray 2002:153-154) I have suggested that there are at least three main points of connection. Firstly, there is the way in which transnational corporations promote the spread of English through its adoption as a lingua franca, not only for communication between geographically dispersed centres of production but also for dealing with local companies in non-English speaking countries. This can have implications for a range of ELT services, such as translation, communication skills training, and language teaching, as well as impacting on the local tourism industry. Secondly, there is the rise of international organizations, particularly in the period following the second world war, which use English as their working language. In addition, there is its use in scientific and many kinds of academic publishing, international banking, international tourism, third level education, international law and human rights, information technology and in the globally disseminated products of Anglophone popular culture, particularly pop music. Thirdly, there is the rise of the Internet and the use of English by a wide variety of 'virtual communities' and special interest groups, including the anti-globalization movement and other dissident groups.

But as Gnutzmann and Intemann (2005: 10) add, 'English is not only the language of globalization, but it is itself deeply affected by it'. They suggest that

the norms of written and spoken English for international purposes are not necessarily identical with those of British and American standard varieties of English any more (ibid).

The statement provides those of us involved in ELT with food for thought. In much the same way that the 'Anglobalization' described by Ferguson may be said to have resulted in the rise of new Englishes in the ex-colonies, so too the current phase of

globalization may be said to have consequences for English when it is being used for lingua franca purposes by speakers (and writers) for whom it is not a first language. The compilation of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) represents an initial step in the research and description of lingua franca use, although just what the consequences could be for ELT remain to be seen – particularly with regard to materials design (in Seidlhofer 2001; 2004). Certainly the appearance of new terms such as EIL and ELF can be seen as indicative of a growing awareness of the challenge posed by globalization for ELT. These are issues which will be explored in greater depth as the thesis develops.

1.5 Aims of the thesis

Before deciding to embark on this thesis I conducted a small-scale survey among a group of twenty teachers in a Barcelona language school (Gray 2000). My aim was to move beyond the anecdotal evidence provided by the snapshots above and see if teachers shared any of my concerns about issues of culture in global coursebooks. The response, although small, was sufficient to convince me that teacher thinking on the subject merited further investigation. The teachers expressed concern about a range of issues: stereotypical representations of Britain and other countries in coursebooks, sexist attitudes, and the inclusion of irrelevant or incomprehensible cultural information about Britain. They also revealed a wish not to offend students' own cultural sensibilities through using culturally inappropriate materials. However, the snapshots from the classroom and the outcome of the survey only serve to confirm what Masuhara (1998) has already pointed out - very little is actually known about teacher thinking on coursebooks in general.

With regard to the role of culture in ELT, Holliday (1994a: 125-126) has suggested that there are two aspects of importance:

- (a) the question of the teaching of culture along with language, whether or not it should or must be taught, and if so, which culture should be taught, and how it should be taught; and (b) the influence of cultural differences on the learning behaviour of students from different parts of the world.

Much ELT attention has focused on the second of these points, and in particular on the issue of appropriate methodology and educational context (Holliday 1994a, 1994b, Cogan 1996, Ellis, 1996, Kramsch & Sullivan 1996). The syllabus changes made during the last decade to the Cambridge teacher training schemes, aimed at foregrounding the learner and the learning context, were described to me at the time as ‘a shift from good methodology to appropriate methodology’ (UCLES, personal communication, 1996). This shift, in line with Holliday (1994b), purported to encourage teachers to see methodology as a set of culturally determined practices which might require adjustment in diverse cultural settings if teaching was to be effective.

Issues raised by Holliday’s (1994a) first point have received a considerable amount of attention in modern foreign languages research (Byram 1993a, 1994, 1997, Aarup Jensen *et al.* 1995, Sercu 2000 *inter al.*) but they remain, despite important contributions (e.g. Cortazzi & Jin 1999; McKay 2002; 2003), significantly under-addressed in ELT. The purpose of this thesis is to redress some of this research imbalance. However, my interest is less in the specific teaching of culture than in the way in which culture is used in the coursebook to make English mean in specific ways. My overall aim is threefold: firstly, to describe the cultural content in a sample of ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain; secondly, to explain the form this content takes; and thirdly, to explore what practising teachers - as the primary consumers of such artefacts - think about this content, and by extension, how they construe the relationship between culture and ELT. It will be evident that the first of these implies an additional aim of producing a descriptive framework congruent with the expanded view of culture referred to in 1.3 above. Furthermore, given that the appearance of global materials may be said to coincide with the 1970s boom in ELT, it is important that the coursebook sample is historical, as cultural content cannot be assumed to have remained constant in form.

Given these aims and a view of culture derived from the work of Stuart Hall, the research design is based on a theoretical model known as the ‘circuit of culture’ (Du Gay, Hall *et al.* 1997: 3). This model, which is modified to align with the aims of this thesis, provides a means for the exploration of key moments in the life of a cultural artefact from production through to consumption (full details are provided in the

methodology chapters). Such an approach is based on textual analysis (broadly understood to include content, discourse and semiotic analysis) and audience research. To describe cultural content it is necessary to provide a descriptive framework and to apply it to a representative sample of global coursebooks. Textual analysis is also important in explaining the nature of this content - thus documentary evidence provided by ELT publishers outlining the representational practices which authors are to follow in coursebook writing are also examined. In addition, I draw on interview data in which ELT publishing managers and commissioning editors discuss issues surrounding the nature of this content. Finally, given my aim to explore teacher thinking on the topic of cultural content and the role of culture in ELT, an audience research study is also necessary. As Thompson (1990: 153) has argued persuasively:

Individuals do not passively absorb symbolic forms but creatively and actively make sense of them, and thereby produce meaning in the very process of reception.

I have deliberately taken the decision not to include students in the audience research. Clearly their thinking on the nature of coursebook content is also important and needs to be investigated - Snapshot 1 suggests that the meanings constructed by teachers and students can be very different. But students are secondary consumers of coursebooks - they may pay for them, but they do not select them. Given the current lack of research on teachers' thinking in the area of culture and materials - at a time when the role of culture continues to be reconsidered - I believe I am justified in focusing exclusively on the primary consumers in the design and implementation of the audience study. In the light of this account, the research questions which I seek to answer are:

1. What form has cultural content taken in ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain since the 1970s?
2. Why has cultural content taken this form?
3. What views do practising teachers hold about the nature of cultural content?
4. How do practicing teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching?

1.6 Map of the thesis

In this chapter I have provided a narrative account of my developing interest in the ELT global coursebook and I have suggested that such artefacts can be seen as ‘particular constructions of reality’ (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991: 3) against a background of globalization in which English plays a key role. I have explained that my view of culture and my understanding of cultural content are influenced by cultural studies – a perspective not generally adopted in ELT. In Chapter 2 I examine the way in which the concept of culture has developed historically, with particular reference to the social sciences and the emergence of a cultural studies perspective. From there I move on to look at the way in which the relationship between language and culture has been theorized, before addressing issues related specifically to pedagogy - namely, an account of the way in which culture has featured in modern languages teaching, and how this role is currently being reappraised particularly with regard to ELT. Chapter 3 is the first of two chapters detailing the research design. The chapter provides a review of existing descriptive frameworks for analysing cultural content in language teaching materials and considers the problems inherent in such frameworks. Following a discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues related to the expanded view of culture subscribed to in the thesis, the chapter concludes with the introduction of a descriptive framework which I consider appropriate for the global ELT coursebook. In the interests of readability this is followed, in Chapters 4 and 5, by the application of the descriptive framework to a set of historically best-selling global coursebooks. In Chapter 6 I outline the second part of the research design. Here I provide the rationale for including documentary evidence from four ELT publishers and I describe the approach to analysing the data. I also provide a rationale for drawing on a secondary data source of interviews with four senior figures within a major publishing house - originally gathered as part of a related study. I conclude by making the case for an audience research study as a means for exploring what teachers think about cultural content in global materials and how they construe the relationship between culture and ELT more generally. The chapter ends with an account of how I constructed the activity-based interview schedule for the audience research study. Chapter 7 contains the analysis of the publishers’ documents and is supplemented by the publishers’ interview data. The chapter then opens into a wider discussion of the issues raised and introduces the

concept of *promotional culture* as having considerable explanatory power in accounting for the form cultural content takes. Chapter 8 presents the data from the audience research study in which a group of twenty-two Barcelona-based English language teachers outline their views on culture and its treatment in global materials. Chapter 9 provides a summing up of the thesis by returning to the research questions. The implications of the thesis are discussed, the limitations of the research are identified and a number of avenues for further exploration are outlined.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURE

2.1 Introduction

My aim in this chapter is threefold: firstly, to trace the main developments in the conceptualization of culture, paying particular attention to the cultural studies perspective; secondly, to explore the way in which the relationship between culture and language has been theorized; and thirdly, to give an account of the way in which culture has featured in language teaching, and how this role is currently being reappraised with regard to modern languages and ELT.

The first of these aims requires some clarification. My initial account of the conceptualization of culture is necessarily that of an overview. In this I have had to be selective and to engage in some degree of simplification. For the purposes of clarity I have chosen to look at culture in broadly historical terms, and I have divided the account into three sections: early modern, modern, and late/postmodern. By early modern I refer to the philosophic conception of culture which emerged in the eighteenth century and is particularly associated with the German Enlightenment. By modern I refer to the anthropological conception, which is generally held to originate in the mid-nineteenth century, and which comes under increasing challenge in the second half of the twentieth century from a variety of theoretical positions e.g. postcolonialism, poststructuralism and postmodernism. By late/postmodern I refer to the expanded and more discursive view of culture in the social sciences, which may be seen to have come about largely as a result of these challenges.

2.2 Sources of cultural theory for ELT

In his dictionary of social science terminology, the critic Raymond Williams (1976: 87) begins his entry for culture on a cautious note:

Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought.

Disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, media studies, literary criticism, communications studies, and cultural studies all provide conceptualizations which can make the very idea of culture seem intractable and amorphous from the perspective of ELT. Yet it is to these disciplines (or at least to some of them) that as ELT researchers we must turn for theories of culture given the interstitial location of our field. Edge and Richards (1998: 347) have suggested that English language teaching ‘sits sometimes awkwardly at the intersection of linguistics and education’ and that this position commits ELT researchers to cross-disciplinary ‘boundary work’. Certainly the notion of boundary work as essential to educational research and to teacher education is not new. In Britain it formed the basis of the post-war educational reforms which aimed to produce a more educated and flexible teacher equipped to meet the challenges of the post-war period. This was to be achieved through the incorporation of a solid grounding in the social sciences into initial training programmes (Cowan 1995: 22-23). Such a grounding has largely been absent from ELT education, which has, in Pennycook’s (1989: 594) view, been characterized by an apolitical, ahistorical, culture of positivism. My own experience throughout the 1990s as a teacher trainer confirms that Cambridge pre-service and in-service courses, as well-established models within British ELT, are driven overwhelmingly by linguistic and methodological concerns to the exclusion of wider social issues - despite the syllabus changes referred to Chapter 1. My own view, following Stern (1983), Halliday (1990), Phillipson (1992, 2001), Holliday (1994b), Rampton (1997, 1998), and Kullman (2003), is that it is necessary for ELT to explore further its boundaries with the social sciences if Pennycook’s (1989) charge is to be redressed.

The discipline most closely associated with the study of culture is anthropology. Yet here a welter of theories and definitions abound. Kroeber and Kluckhohn’s (1952) critical review of the term refers to over three hundred definitions. In the 1970s Geertz (1973) and Keesing (1974) argued that for the term to remain meaningful it needed to be narrowed down, so that ‘it includes less and reveals more’ (ibid: 73). Keesing, in particular, was critical of the kaleidoscopic picture of culture presented by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), arguing that by including too much the concept became diffuse and of limited theoretical value. By the 1980s the fragmentation of anthropology itself was such that Ortner (1984: 126) described a situation where the entire discipline appeared to have lost even the ‘few large categories of theoretical affiliation’, it had previously seemed to possess.

This fragmentation is related to the challenges mentioned in 2.1, and anthropology’s own examination of its aims and origins. As Stern (1983) pointed out, anthropology is

closely linked to a tradition of ethnographic reportage which developed alongside European colonial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is this latter tradition which has been most severely criticized by postcolonial theorists, who have argued that anthropology's status as an 'objective' science is open to question, and that uses of the term 'culture' need to be scrutinized closely for imperialist and racist connotations (in Duranti 1997). Anthropologists themselves have spoken in similar tones:

Part of the appeal of this new arrogant and ethnocentric science was that it fitted perfectly with the ethos of the era of European colonial expansion and the westward movement of the American Frontier, for it rested on the basic premise that all non-Europeans are stupid, childish, barbarous and servile by their very nature (Leech 1982:16).

For others the late twentieth century fragmentation in anthropology has been understood as the collapse of the 'modernist project' (Friedman 1994: 70) - resulting in a situation where 'those whom anthropologists study now speak for themselves, represent themselves and don't easily consent to anthropologists 'speaking' or 'writing' them' (ibid: 71-72). Kahn (1995: 133), echoing Lyotard (1984) concludes that this fragmentation is part of a process characterized by a general 'incredulity towards the metanarratives of (western) modernity', otherwise known as postmodernism.

Culture is thus a complex and contested term even within the discipline associated most closely with the study of its manifestations. As stated in 2.1, the account which follows aims to give a broad overview of the main developments in the conceptualization of culture.

2.3 The early modern conception of culture

Williams (1976) points out that in its earliest uses culture was a noun of process referring to crop cultivation. Gradually this meaning was extended to include the metaphoric cultivation of the human mind, so that by the eighteenth century it is more or less synonymous with civilization in French, German and English. As such, in Eagleton's (2000) view, this early modern meaning of culture as cultivation of the mind is linked to the Enlightenment belief in universal human progress. In Germany, however, culture underwent what he sees as a politically motivated 'semantic swerve' (ibid: 9) whereby the equivalence with civilization was broken.

As the eighteenth century German-speaking intelligentsia sought to differentiate itself in terms of its own intellectual achievements from those of the French-speaking courtly class, it increasingly repudiated all French influence (Thompson 1990: 124-125). Part of this process consisted in a linguistic untangling of the two terms - *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* - so that the former came to be associated with (often specifically German) artistic and scientific achievement, while the latter was limited to the mere acquisition of social graces - a distinction which was echoed by Kant (in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952).

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) identify this as the Kantian/Hegelian strand in the German conception of culture where culture is understood as *Bildung* - generally translated as 'formation' or 'shaping'. On this view the human spirit is held to liberate itself gradually from the confines of the biological self through progressive 'shaping' (or education) in which language played a key role. Elements of this conception may be said to survive today in the notion of 'high culture', which is generally understood as something morally and spiritually uplifting, and in the continuing semantic link in many European languages between culture and education/formation. In Spanish, for example, 'una persona culta' is an educated person, while 'culturismo' refers to bodybuilding.

The German Enlightenment also saw the appearance of universal histories of humankind in which culture was increasingly understood as *Bildung* and which considered Europe to represent the apex of human development. Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, published between 1784 and 1791, is recognized by both Williams (1976) and Thompson (1990) as introducing an important modification to this emerging conception of culture. In this Herder chose instead to speak of cultures - that is, as a plural noun - and attacked the notion of a straightforward unilinear historical process which culminated in the achievements of Europe.

Thus we can say that there are two main aspects to the early modern conception of culture. On the one hand there is a peculiarly German twist which sees it as something more elevated than mere civilization. It is a process of spiritual and moral refinement in which language occupies a key position. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) speculate that the reason for this development may lie in the fact that Germans still lacked a unified nation state at the very time when they began their contribution to Enlightenment thought. They suggest that '[b]eing politically in arrears, their nationalism not only took solace in German cultural achievement, but was led to

appraise culture as a whole above politics' (ibid: 28). On the other hand there is the idea of culture as plural noun - something which is realized in different ways by different peoples. It was this idea which paved the way for anthropological formulations in the nineteenth century. The proliferation of ethnographies which accompanied the European scramble for Africa took up the notion of cultural plurality as a useful descriptive tool. By 1871, when the British anthropologist Tylor published his *Primitive Culture*, the concept of culture had been expanded to include

that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (ibid:1).

It is with the rise of anthropology that 'the scientization of the concept of culture' (Thompson 1990: 128) really occurs and a new set of meanings accrue to the term.

2.4 Modern conceptions of culture

Although it may be said to have originated in the nineteenth century, modern anthropology really took shape in the twentieth century. In this section I will confine my account to what I believe are the three most influential conceptions of culture within modern anthropology: culture as a cognitive system; culture as a structuralist system; and culture as a symbolic system.

2.4.1 Culture as a cognitive system

The history of anthropology is interwoven with that of linguistics. Stern (1983) points out that three of the most important figures in early American anthropology - Boas, Kroeber, and Sapir - were all equally important in the field of linguistics. This disciplinary association is easily detectable in the cognitive conception of culture. As cognitive anthropologists, Goodenough (1964) and Frake (1969) both subscribe to the notion of a cultural grammar - a perspective which Keesing (1974) has suggested places culture in the same epistemological realm as language. In modern anthropology the cognitive conception is summed up by Goodenough (1964: 36) as follows:

[A] society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves [...] culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their model for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.

A language too, in Goodenough's view, could be defined in similar terms as consisting of 'whatever it is one has to know in order to communicate with its speakers as adequately as they do with each other and in a manner which they will accept as corresponding to their own' (ibid: 37). Such a view is important from the point of view of this thesis as it could be seen as pointing towards a view of language teaching and learning in which the aim is the development of communicative competence modeled on the 'native speaker'¹. As we shall see, this is a view which has come under attack from Byram (1997), and more recently from Leung (2005).

Anthropology's reliance on linguistic models for conceptualizing culture has also been attacked by Street (1993: 23-25) who argues that the idea of a cultural grammar is inappropriate because it mistakenly suggests that culture may be more stable than it actually is. However, most conceptions of culture, as we shall see in the following sub-sections, have continued to place culture in the same epistemological realm as language.

2.4.2 Culture as a structuralist system

The structuralist conception of culture is indebted to the work of Saussure (1974). The concept of the arbitrariness of the sign in which words and their meanings are seen as conventional rather than inherent means that language becomes a powerful tool for constructing reality. As Turner (2003: 11) points out:

When Saussure insists that the relation between a word and its meaning is constructed, not given, he is directing us to the cultural and social dimensions of language. Language is cultural, not neutral, and so the meanings it generates are too.

Within anthropology it was Lévi-Strauss who saw the application of linguistic theory to cultural analysis. As an analytical approach, structuralism is based on the assumption that 'the human mind is everywhere one and the same thing' (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 19) and that it is possible to look beneath the proliferation of superficial cultural forms and discover, what he calls, 'the invariant elements' (ibid: 8). What is

¹ Following Holliday (2005) I use inverted commas to indicate that, although pervasive, the term is highly contested with the literature.

of interest to the structuralist is the relationship between these elements. In this structuralism differs from the cognitive approach which aims, more modestly, 'to describe specific cultures adequately' (Goodenough 1964: 36). Structuralism, on the other hand, seeks to reveal the nature of the human mind itself. Although in Lévi-Strauss' formulation human beings are said to use whatever elements are found in their environment for the creation of culture, they are also seen as being created by culture – so much so, in fact, that the individual is viewed as 'a crossroads where things happen. The crossroads is purely passive; something happens there' (1978: 4).

Ortner (1984: 137-138) points out that within anthropology it was this 'denial of an intentional subject in the social and cultural process, and the denial of any significant impact of history or 'event' upon structure' which meant that structuralism came under attack from the 1970s onwards. The latter point, with regard to history, was also made by Hall (1980a) - while at the same time he recognized that the structuralist conception of culture impacted significantly on the development of cultural studies in Britain. This was mainly on account of structuralism's view of the 'irreducibility' (ibid: 30) of the cultural to the status of a reflection of the material base and the way in which culture was also seen as being both constructed and constructing – although, as we shall see, Hall sought to retain a greater role for human agency than Lévi-Strauss appeared to allow for.

2.4.3 Culture as a symbolic system

Commentators (Keesing 1974, Ortner 1984, Thompson 1990, and Duranti 1997) agree that Geertz' writing on the symbolic nature of culture represents a major development in modern anthropology. Unlike Lévi-Strauss, Geertz does not see the proliferation of cultural forms as indicative of universal structures of the human mind. He also opposes what he calls the 'cognitive fallacy' (1973: 12), as espoused by the Goodenough school of anthropology, which viewed culture as a phenomenon located within the human brain. Rather, he subscribes to a view of culture as 'symbolic action' (1973: 10), essentially a form of communication. For Geertz culture is something external to the individual, existing *between* people rather than inside them. He describes his position thus:

The concept of culture I espouse [...] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he

himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical (1973: 5).

Crucial to Geertz' approach is the notion of text which appears to function in two ways. Through a methodology of 'thick description' the ethnographer builds up layers of detail, working them into a richly nuanced text. The status of this text is that of a 'construction' (ibid: 9), an interpretation of the culture being observed. At the same time the culture is conceived of as an 'acted document' (ibid: 10), that is, as a text itself. The anthropologist's role in the Geertzian framework can thus be understood as the production of text based on the enactment of text. Although the business of anthropology is interpretation, another key feature of his approach is to interpret from the insider's point of view. This means

that descriptions of Berber, Jewish, or French culture must be cast in terms of the constructions *we imagine* Berbers, Jews, or Frenchmen to place upon what they happen to live through, the formulae they use to define what happens to them (ibid: 15, my italics).

However, Thompson (1990) finds Geertz' work to be weak in this emic respect. Thompson suggests that although Geertz aims to interpret from within there is little evidence that he succeeds. He cites Geertz' analysis of cockfighting in Bali as an example of his strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand there is the 'brilliant and imaginative' (ibid: 133) interpretation and on the other there is the absence of any Balinese voice to comment on the validity of the interpretation from the position of an insider. A further weakness, also noted by Ortner (1984), is any serious consideration of issues of power and politics in the symbolic conception. As a sociologist Thompson (1990) is particularly critical of this. Cultural phenomena, he writes

are also embedded in relations of power and conflict. Everyday utterances and actions, as well as more elaborate phenomena such as rituals, festivals or works of art, are always produced or enacted in particular social-historical circumstances, by specific individuals drawing on certain resources and endowed with varying degrees of authority (ibid: 135).

Geertz, it could be argued, for all his emic intentions focuses on the meaning which phenomena have for him, rather than on the range of meanings available to differently situated individuals within the social group.

2.5 Late/postmodern conceptions of culture

Relations of power, conflict and identity are central to Thornton's (1988) attempt to reconceptualize culture in terms more congruent with postcolonial/postmodern perspectives. Writing about South Africa before the end of apartheid, he is critical of the idea of cultures - that is, the plural noun - and the way in which the regime, supported, he suggests, by his own discipline of anthropology, used this concept to justify its policies of separate ethnic development. His charge against anthropology is instanced by the following quotation from a textbook, which claimed that an 'ethnic group and its culture develop organically and simultaneously to become an indivisible, homogenous group' (ibid: 17). Such indivisibility and homogeneity, Thornton argued, was contradicted on a daily basis by the actual plurality and heterogeneity he saw around him.

In essence Thornton has two main ideas about culture. The first is that given the difficulty anthropologists have in defining the term it is more useful to look at what culture *does* rather than attempt to explain what it *is*. Similar views have been expressed by Appadurai (1996), and memorably by Street (1993: 25) whose paper 'Culture is a verb' argues that '[c]ulture is an active process of meaning making and contest over definition, including its own definition.' This can be done, he suggests, by looking at the way in which the concept was used in the past and how it is used in the present.

Conflict during the colonial period between the British and the Zulu, Thornton argues, served to increase 'the perception of social distance, and at the same time increased the internal coherence of each society' (ibid: 20). Similarities were noted in Northern Ireland by Northover and Donnelly (1996), who suggested that groups in conflict seek to increase their sense of collective identity by using symbolic forms such as language in order to differentiate themselves from each other. Thus culture can be used to define and impose senses of sameness and otherness. However, for Thornton, cultural difference can also be seen as the product of colonial discourse itself, as exemplified by the influence of early European anthropological texts. Terms such as 'Bantu', 'Hottentots', and 'Bushmen', he argues, literally created the entities they were coined to classify. So much was this the case, he claims, that ethnographs as much as concrete events may be said to have shaped political boundaries in South Africa. On this view, culture defines, categorizes, and imposes boundaries of class, ethnicity, and territory. Such boundaries, Thornton claims, are established as mental categories through socialization. The practices which maintain them, while they may be

unconscious (or their social history unknown), are nonetheless learned, and as such, he argues, they can be reflected on and contested.

Thornton's second idea which is that culture is not solely regulatory, but can also be seen as a set of resources which are comparable - in theory, if not in fact - to air and sunlight. Access to these resources allows individuals and groups to make statements about their identity and group membership:

Wearing a safari-suit or a tee-shirt and beads, participation in a rugby team or a dance band, represent choices made from a selection of cultural resources that comprise a statement about identity (Thornton 1988: 24-25).

Thus identity is also something that one 'does' or enacts. However, unlike air and sunlight cultural resources are humanly created and access to them is controlled. Even if culture is reconceptualized as a set of resources, Thornton is aware that choices are limited by the constraints of class, ethnicity and gender, also referred to by Thompson (1990) and Mathews (2000). Such a view is also non-essentialist, where essentialism is understood as

the position that the attributes and behavior of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and or/biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group. As an ideology, essentialism rests on two assumptions: (1) that groups can be clearly delimited; and (2) that group members are more or less alike (Bucholtz 2003: 400).

As we shall see, similar views about culture and identity are found in cultural studies. As a field of inquiry, cultural studies had its origins in post-war Britain. It rejected elitist views of culture and refused to accept the high/low distinction found in earlier conceptions of the term. In Hall's (1980a) view, its approach represented the socialization and democratization of culture – something which is reflected in its interest in popular culture and the media. Hall's view of culture is essentially one about the making of meaning. Culture, he suggests, refers to

the many and variable systems of meanings which human beings deploy to define what things mean and to code, organize and regulate their conduct towards one another. These systems or codes of meaning give significance to our actions. They allow us to interpret meaningfully the actions of others. Taken together they constitute our 'cultures' (1997a: 208).

Crucial to this view of culture is the concept of articulation. As Hall (1986 in Morley & Chen 1996: 141) points out, articulation carries the double meaning of 'language-

ing, of expressing' and that of connection or linkage – similar, he suggests, to the way in which an articulated lorry is composed of separate, but pivotally linked parts. An articulation has been defined by du Gay (1997: 3) as

the connection that can make a unity of two or more different or distinct elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, or absolute for all time; rather it is a linkage whose conditions of existence or emergence need to be located in the contingences of circumstances.

By way of example Hall (1997a) shows how the concept of Englishness might be articulated very differently through a linkage with Romantic poetry, or by association with ideas about the nature of Victorian entrepreneurialism. Such articulations, Hall (1986) argues, can also be culturally transformative, as in the case of Rastafarianism in Jamaica. Here a sector of Jamaican society is shown to have reconstructed itself through a reading of black history and a particular interpretation of the Bible. Thus articulations draw not only on existing discourses but can also generate new discursive formations.

Such processes are also intimately connected with identity, which for Hall (1996: 1) is a concept 'under erasure' – a Derridean term, used to refer to 'an idea which cannot be thought of in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all' (ibid: 2). In Hall's (1992a) view, identity in late modernity has become fragmented as a consequence of rapid social and technological change, increasing globalization and the impact of the 'five great de-centrings' ushered in by Marx, Freud, Saussure, Foucault and feminism. Thus he suggests:

The subject, previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed, not of a single, but several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved, identities (ibid: 276-277).

On this view, identities are seen as processual and positional rather than essential:

Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation (Hall 1996: 4).

At the same time, given that certain representations and meanings may be produced to serve particular social ends, culture can also be seen as ideological - if ideology is understood as meaning in the service of power (Thompson 1990: 7). In fact, as Carey (1989), Tudor (1999) and Turner (2003) have pointed out, the concept of ideology is central to cultural studies – and it is to this that I now turn.

2.5.1 Ideology and readership in cultural studies

Like the term culture, ideology is problematic and for many of the same reasons. There are a number of different conceptualizations which, as Eagleton (1994) points out, are mutually incompatible. I do not wish to rehearse these here – rather, I will confine myself to the view of ideology espoused by Hall, given that his conception of culture is central to this thesis. Most importantly, ideology is not seen as some kind of false consciousness. Commenting on its role in the media, Hall (1982 in Gurevitch, Curran & Woollacott 1982: 65) states that ideology has to do with:

the winning of a universal validity and legitimacy for accounts of the world which are partial and particular, and [...] the grounding of these particular constructions in the taken-for-grantedness of ‘the real’.

Thus ideology has to do with the construction of versions of reality which favour the interests of particular groups and the ways in which those versions are accepted. At the same time, ideology is also held to be present in the ‘frameworks of interpretation and understanding’ (Hall 1983, no pagination) which we, as readers, viewers and consumers, deploy in making sense of such constructions and in understanding ‘what is going on around us, what our position is, and what we are likely to do’ (ibid). Such frameworks, he suggests, are ultimately always interested, and, referring to the readings of media messages which readers construct, he argues that there is no place outside ideology:

I think we are all in that sense inside ideology. There is no space outside - totally outside - of ideology where we have no stake in the analyses of the media that we are offering (ibid).

At the same time, although ideology is seen as being pervasive, Hall (ibid) argues that human beings are also capable of reflexivity and that we can take up a variety of positions, which although also ideological, enable us to identify the ‘selectivity’ of

whatever representation we are confronted with and to identify where its 'absences and the silences are' (ibid). As we shall see, his view of consumption – understood as a key moment in the process of meaning-making and identity creation - suggests that consumers of culture are far from passive in their practices (Hall 1980b).

Mass communication studies from the 1930s and 1940s tended to assume that the intended meaning and the meaning individual readers took from a text were one and the same. Machor and Goldstein (2001) argue that the Frankfurt School's assumption that the ideology of capitalism was reproduced and reinforced through the consumption of the mass productions of the culture industry presupposed a similarly unidirectional channel of communication. The notion of audience passivity came increasingly under strain in 1970s, particularly with the left's rediscovery of Gramsci's concept of hegemony. On this view of class society subaltern groups may subscribe to, among other things, the worldview of more dominant elements within that society. This is said to occur because power is exercised not only through the strong arm of the law also but also through the winning of consent. The concept of hegemony was to prove popular in cultural studies as it provided a rationale for the examination of the ways in which consent was won and it also allowed the role of the reader/viewer/consumer to be theorised in a more nuanced way. Machor and Goldstein (2001) rightly view the work of Hall as being of central importance in this area. Hall's (1980b: 131) paper 'Encoding/decoding' makes the point that mass-media research had been dogged by 'a lingering behaviourism' in which the consumer was construed as a more or less passive dope. Hall posited a more active role for the reader/viewer/consumer in which three positions were held to be options – a dominant-hegemonic position in which the receiver understood the preferred meaning of whatever message was received in exactly the same terms in which it was sent; a negotiated position in which the receiver did not accept completely the preferred meaning of the sender; and finally an oppositional position in which the preferred meaning was rejected and the message was understood in terms altogether different to those of the sender. Although texts may be interpreted in a variety of ways, the preferred reading or the preferred meaning is one the author may wish the reader to adopt.

On this view, culture can also be seen as ‘a sort of battlefield’ (Hall 1981, in Storey 2006: 482) in which the meanings which are articulated are not guaranteed or in any way held to be stable, but are seen as contingent, interested and potentially contested. In Chapter 3 I will argue that this non-essentialist view of culture is an appropriate one on which to base an exploration of the ways in which English is made to mean in global ELT materials.

I conclude this section with a summary of what I have identified as the main developments in the conceptualization of culture. I should point out that while my account of culture has been broadly historical this does not mean that older meanings have been superceded automatically by newer ones. Culture continues to have a variety of disciplinary nuances and lay meanings, so that it can be understood simultaneously as something morally uplifting, a kind of communal ‘hardwiring’, and as a set of consumer practices which constitute statements about identity and lifestyle. In the following section I turn my attention to the ways in which culture has figured in language teaching and how its role is currently being reappraised with regard to modern languages and ELT.

Early modern conceptions of culture	Modern conceptions of culture	Late/postmodern conceptions of culture
i) German philosophic view of culture as <i>Bildung</i> - liberation of the human spirit from the confines of biology	Anthropological conceptions i) cognitive system - like language, culture has a grammar	i) focus on what culture does as opposed to what culture is – used to define and categorize – as a set of resources deployed in the construction of identity
ii) Herder’s idea of cultures as a plural noun - implicit critique of European ethnocentrism - paved the way for anthropological conceptions	ii) structuralist system - culture is built on the same elements found in language - it reveals the nature of the human mind iii) symbolic system - culture is a form of communication - it exists between people, not in people	ii) focus on the active making of meaning through representation, articulation, consumption - ideological dimension of meaning in the service of power

Table 2.1 Main developments in the conceptualization of culture

2.6 Culture and language

As I have suggested above, culture and language have been closely associated from the early modern period onward. One of the most persistent elements in this association is that provided by Humboldt (1836/1971) who argued that language was

a mediating tool between the human intellect and nature. Because individual languages were held to mediate nature along very different lines Humboldt concluded that '[f]rom every language [...] conclusions can be drawn with respect to national character' (ibid: 132). Thus, on this view, language can be seen as uniquely expressive of the worldview of its speakers – and is linked to the idea of a 'national' language.

There is a direct link between this view and what has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. In fact Steiner (1975: 94) refers to this as the Humboldt-Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Two key statements by Sapir and Whorf are worth quoting in full, given the controversy which interpretations of their views have engendered. First Sapir (1949/1985: 162), who claimed:

The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

His pupil Whorf (1956: 221) stated his view, of what he called the linguistic relativity principle, as follows:

[U]sers of markedly different grammars are pointed by the grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of extremely similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world.

The shadow of Humboldt is clearly visible here. Humboldt had argued over a century earlier that when certain Native American peoples categorized star constellations along with sentient beings such as humans and animals 'it is obvious that they regard the former as independently moving beings endowed with personality and also apparently guiding human destiny from above' (1836/1971: 132). The view, shared by Sapir and Whorf, that a language structures reality for its speakers along lines such as these has subsequently come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Interpretations of their work have led to strong and weak versions of the hypothesis.

Strong versions of the hypothesis are noticeable, for example, in certain strands of twentieth century feminist thinking, which accorded language a major role in the creation and reproduction of patriarchy (e.g. Spender 1980). Interestingly Humboldt

may also be said to have anticipated feminist concerns. Writing about the power of language to constrain, he stated:

Albeit language is wholly inward, it nevertheless possesses at the same time an autonomous, external identity and being which does violence to man himself (sic) (in Steiner 1975: 82).

Many feminists have described such a sense of violence in their experience of alienation from language which they feel is not wholly theirs (in Cameron 1985). In its strongest form the hypothesis suggests that language literally determines what an individual can think and implies the near impossibility of translation from one language to another. This interpretation has been attacked for its overly deterministic view (Pinker 1994). However, as Cameron (1985), Gumperz and Levinson (1991), and O'Halloran (1997) argue, Whorf, in particular, has been misrepresented by detractors and oversimplified by followers. The kind of linguistic relativity Humboldt, Sapir, and Whorf subscribed to is based on an altogether more subtle understanding of the relationship between language, thought, and worldview than critics like Pinker (1994) have given them credit for. Being 'pointed' by grammar towards an interpretation of events is altogether different from being mentally imprisoned by grammar. Even Spender (1980), who may be said to subscribe to a strong version of the hypothesis, argues that women *can* remake language and transform society along more equitable lines. Clearly Whorf, as suggested in the quotation above, believed that language predisposed speakers to interpret events in a certain way, but he also believed that it was possible to transcend these limitations and that learning other languages was one way of doing this:

It was to me almost as enlightening to see English from the entirely new angle necessitated in order to translate it into Hopi as it was to discover the meanings of the Hopi forms themselves (Whorf 1956: 112).

It is this aspect of their work, in line with the Humboldtian view of the inseparability of language and culture, which has animated much current thinking on the role of culture in language teaching. On this view language learning is uniquely suited to enable learners to relativize their own worldview. In 2.8 I will show how certain strands of current thinking posit a key role for culture in language teaching by emphasizing the educational value of such a relativizing approach.

2.7 Culture and language teaching

Humboldt was instrumental in placing historical and comparative language studies at the centre of nineteenth century German university education. Such studies were congruent with the Hegelian view of the need for a diachronic and synchronic dialogue with other languages and cultures as a means to better self-understanding (Hardcastle 1999). The teaching of modern languages also owed much to Humboldt. Their introduction to the school curriculum in the mid nineteenth century assumed the same educationally formative objective reserved for the classical languages (Hüllen 2000). A grammar translation methodology along the lines of Greek and Latin teaching also served to raise the profile of modern languages and give status to those who taught them.

However, the Reform Movement with its focus on the production of spoken language represented a major change of direction for the teaching of modern languages. Stern (1983: 263) points out that Sweet's (1899) *Practical Study* included no reference to what might be called the cultural dimension of language teaching. The rise of commercial language schools, (e.g. Berlitz) may be said to have moved modern languages teaching away from the Humboldtian model more firmly. Stieglitz (1955: 301), in his assessment of the first seventy-five years of Berlitz teaching, makes it clear that the method 'is concerned primarily with the linguistic, and *not the cultural*, aspects of foreign language teaching' (my emphasis). It is, he argues (with no apparent irony), a method which is thoroughly American and freed from all 'the staid traditions of Old World formalism' (ibid: 300). That said, culture was held to be present in the person of the 'native speaker' teacher required to deliver the method and it was assumed that some information about the target culture would automatically be conveyed to students.

Although the Reform Movement was to set the tone for developments in language teaching in the twentieth century the Humboldtian view did not disappear. Rather, it continued to ebb and flow often in response to wider social events. As Stern (1983) shows, the post World War 1 *Kulturkunde* or *Landeskunde* movement in Germany was rooted in the Humboldtian view of the necessary pedagogic link between language and culture. Its application to mother tongue and foreign language teaching assumed the increasingly political aim of forging a particularly nationalistic type of German consciousness. In the aftermath of World War 2 the importance of *Landeskunde* declined somewhat as part of the reaction against Nazism but it has

remained an important and continually developing element in German language teaching (Stern 1983).

In the post war period the work of Lado (1957, 1964) Brooks (1960), Nostrand (1974), and Rivers (1981), reflected the influence of Sapir and Whorf and the rise of, what Stern (1983) calls, the anthropological view of culture. In some countries, particularly in the state school sector, language teaching did include a more general introduction to the target culture e.g. *civilization* in the case of France, *civiltà* in Italy, and *background studies* in Britain.

However, the teaching of modern foreign languages and English – particularly to adults - in much of western Europe and North America in the twentieth century was concerned mainly with language as a purely formal system. The rise of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and the adoption of Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence as the goal of language learning is seen by Stern (1983) as something of a welcome change of direction. However, he argues that language teaching continued to lack 'a well-defined sociocultural emphasis' (ibid: 246). He understands this along lines similar to those of van Ek and Trim (1991: 102), who define 'sociocultural competence' in terms of familiarity with 'certain aspects of the foreign culture' (ibid). Their definition, which includes 'every day life', living conditions', and 'interpersonal relations' (ibid: 103) can be seen as focused mainly on the 'native speaker' of the language being learnt. However, as we shall see in the following section, not everyone making the case for an explicit role for culture in language teaching takes quite the same view.

2.8 Culture and language teaching – an alternative approach

Over the last decade and a half Michael Byram and Claire Kramsch have been influential in making the case for a more Humboldtian approach to language teaching and learning. Both take the view that it has a specific kind of educational value. Learning a foreign language, Byram argues, affords learners 'the opportunity for emancipation from the confines of learners' native habitat and culture, with the development of new perceptions and insights into foreign and native cultures alike' (1988: 15), and at the same time provides 'the opportunity to reflect upon oneself and one's own culture from the archimedian standpoint of another language and culture, and the acquisition of new insight into self and native surrounds which are fundamental to the notion of education' (ibid). For Kramsch (1993), the fact that meanings are not universal and that languages do not neatly translate into each other

means that students are continually being tripped up by culture. Thus, she argues, language learning has the potential to afford students a unique vantage point on their own culture and that embodied in the foreign language.

The considerable body of work which both have produced may be seen as an attack on language teaching as it has been conducted much of western Europe and North America in the post war period, and the simultaneous outline of a radical alternative. Byram (1988, 1989, 1997) has argued consistently that the dominant paradigm in language teaching is based on a narrow interpretation of communication as a way of bridging information gaps and transferring messages (cf. Block 2002). Such a view, he holds, is both impoverished and conservative. It is impoverished because communication involves not only the bridging of such gaps but also includes the projection of social and cultural identities, and it is conservative because it fails to accommodate the emancipatory potential and reflexivity that language learning can entail. Similarly Kramsch (1993) argues that the dominant paradigm in language teaching regards culture – understood as ‘the very way we order, classify, and organize the world around us through language’ (Kramsch 1998a: 12) as ‘an expendable fifth skill’ (Kramsch 1993: 1).

As the Council of Europe has begun to articulate the need for a sociocultural dimension in language teaching (e.g. Van Ek & Trim 1991), Byram’s perspective on what this might mean has come to assume increasing importance. This is evidenced by the official endorsement by the Council of Europe (1996) of Byram and Zarate’s (1994) model of intercultural communicative competence (described below) as a European educational goal for language teaching and learning.

Initially understood in terms of four ‘savoirs’ (Byram & Zarate 1994), the scope of intercultural communicative competence has subsequently been expanded to include a fifth (Byram 1997). In their most recent formulation the ‘savoirs’ break down as follows: ‘savoirs’ – declarative knowledge of both one’s own and one’s interlocutor’s culture; ‘savoir être’ - a mental attitude which is ethnographic in orientation; ‘savoir comprendre’ – the ability to interpret documents and/or events from another culture and relate them to one’s own; ‘savoir apprendre/faire’ – the ability to acquire and put into practice knowledge learnt under the pressure of real-time communication; and finally, ‘savoir s’engager’ – the ability to critically evaluate aspects of one’s own and others’ culture. Such a competence is associated with the concept of the ‘intercultural speaker’ (Byram & Zarate 1994: 11) who is both ethnographically sensitive (and thus equipped to learn) and culturally self-aware. The intercultural speaker, they suggest, is

also somebody who ‘crosses frontiers, and who is a specialist in the transit of cultural property and symbolic values’ (ibid: 11) – a view which Guilherme (2000), citing Hall (1990, 1996), suggests is congruent with more dynamic and non-essentialist understandings of identity found in cultural studies.

Such a redefinition of the goal of language teaching and learning is necessary, Byram (1997) argues, because Hymes’ (1972) idea of communicative competence (for so long the goal of language teaching and learning) has been misapplied to second language learning. Hymes’ original idea referred to ‘native speaker’ communication and not to cross-cultural communication - the context which Byram views as most relevant to language learners. This misapplication, he suggests, condemns language learners to failure, as teachers try to turn them into ersatz ‘native speakers’. Leung’s (2005) more recent intervention on the misapplication of the concept of communicative competence to second language learning is discussed in Chapter 8.

Like Byram, Kramsch also aims to redraw the boundaries of language teaching so that culture is foregrounded. However, where Byram concentrates mainly on the identification of the competencies which comprise intercultural communicative competence, and how these might be tested, Kramsch focuses largely on the experience of the learner as an ‘intercultural speaker’ and the ways in which intercultural communicative competence might be developed. In much the same way that Rao (1938: vii) claimed colonial writers who wrote in English faced the problem of trying to ‘convey in a language that is not one’s own the spirit that is one’s own’, Kramsch argues that language learners struggle to find a voice in the foreign language that can carry the weight of their own cultural experience.

To achieve this she proposes a pedagogy of conflict in which the goal of language teaching and learning is redefined as the identification and exploration of linguistic and cultural boundaries and the simultaneous exploration of the self in the process (Kramsch 1993). Ideally the ideological inflections in the learner’s own voice become apparent in the learning process and are made available for questioning. For Kramsch (1995) language teaching is not about maintaining the status quo - rather her view is one in which the teacher becomes an agent of social change.

Such a pedagogy is based on a kind of ‘conscientização’ (or conscientization) - a term used by Freire (1970) to refer to the way in which learners become subjects rather than objects or recipients in the educational process. Following Freire, Kramsch (1993: 28) advocates a dialogic pedagogy in which boundaries are explored in the

classroom, so that learners 'can start using the foreign language not merely as imperfect native speakers, but as speakers in their own right'. Such an approach involves what might be termed 'the right to behave and to sound foreign' and a move away from the 'native speaker' as the model for learners to approximate. Following Byram and Zarate (1994), Kramsch (1998b) endorses the concept of the intercultural speaker as the aim of language teaching – understood as a speaker who is aware of the cultural implications of language choices and who can adapt (should she choose) her language to meet contextual demands. The knowledge required for such a speaker is constructed in the classroom - recast as 'the privileged site of cross-cultural fieldwork, in which the participants are both informants and ethnographers' (Kramsch 1993: 29).

Kramsch (1993) acknowledges, in passing, the importance of other critical educators (e.g. Giroux and Pennycook) for her view of what language teaching should entail. In this she makes a distinction between education and instruction. In Kramsch's view the dominant paradigm in language teaching is instructional and monologic - that is, it is prescriptive and typified by a one way flow of information from teacher to student in which student output is evaluated solely in terms of 'native speaker' norms. Education on the other hand is held to be dialogic and is typified by an acceptance of experimentation with language, a refusal to ignore cultural difference and the recognition of the possibility of cultural incommensurability.

It will be clear from this summary that Byram and Kramsch have much in common. Their view of language teaching and learning as having a specific kind of educational value links them to a European tradition which has its origins in the early modern period, particularly in the work of Humboldt. As such their work may be said to represent a critique of the role of culture within the dominant paradigm in the teaching of modern languages teaching and ELT.

What these views might mean for British ELT remains to be seen. Although largely a commercial enterprise, British ELT does not exist in a vacuum, and, as Thornbury (2000a) has suggested elsewhere, it is responsive to debates in mainstream education and political issues more generally. Thornbury (ibid) has suggested that the 'back to basics' arguments which typified educational debate in Britain in the 1980s is reflected in ELT coursebooks produced in Britain during the same period. Although Byram (1990) argued that textbooks need to represent target cultures more realistically, Byram and Fleming (1998) acknowledge that the increasing use of English as a lingua franca means that the question of which cultures language learners should be exposed to in ELT settings is problematic – as indeed is the question of

which form of the language they should study. While suggesting that such questions must be answered locally, it is clear that he sees intercultural communicative competence as an appropriate goal for ELT. This section concludes with a summary of the Byram/Kramsch critique of the dominant paradigm in foreign language teaching and their proposed alternatives.

Dominant paradigm in foreign language teaching	Proposed educational alternative
language teaching seen narrowly as skill training	language teaching seen broadly as education
impoverished and conservative	rich and critical
instructional and monologic	educational and dialogic
culture occupies the background	culture occupies the foreground
communicative competence as the aim of language learning	intercultural communicative competence as the aim of language learning
'native speaker' model	intercultural speaker model
aim to enable learners to survive as tourists/consumers	aim to create learners who are internationally socially aware
learners construed as skills acquirers	learners construed as apprentice ethnographers
textbook as carrier of superficial view of target culture	textbook as carrier of realistic view of target culture

Table 2.2 Summary of the Byram/Kramsch view of foreign language teaching and learning

2.9 Culture and English

As I suggested in 2.7 above language teaching in many parts of the world during the twentieth century was concerned with language as a purely formal system. Where culture was addressed - particularly in teaching in the state school sector - it often took the form of a general introduction to the life of 'native speakers' of a particular nation state such as the UK or the USA. ELT, as an emerging set of practices with a knowledge base in Applied Linguistics, has produced little in the way of a clearly articulated approach to the role of culture in language teaching. However, one attempt by Adaskou *et al.* (1990) to define what culture might mean for English language teachers and what this might imply specifically with regard to content in ELT materials has been viewed favourably in the literature (e.g. Lessard-Clouston 1996, Hedge 2000). Their framework for materials production divides culture into four senses - the aesthetic (information about the arts etc.), the sociological (information about the everyday life of 'native speakers'), the semantic (how words and concepts

relate to a particular way of life), and the pragmatic (norms of politeness, rhetorical conventions in writing, etc.). However, such a framework is inherently problematic, raising as many questions as the solutions it attempts to provide (e.g. McKay 2002). Which 'native speakers' are to be represented in the materials? Which norms of politeness? Which particular ways of life?

One of the features of English is the extent to which it is spoken around the world and the variety of roles which it fulfills for different kinds of speaker. An early attempt to represent some of this complexity was made by Kachru (1985) who divided the world into three concentric circles - an inner circle, where English is spoken as a first language, an outer circle, where it is spoken as a second language (and where nativized varieties may exist), and an expanding circle, where it is used as a lingua franca. Clearly English takes a number of different forms, has a variety of standards, and is used to encode a wide range of cultural meanings. But, as Rajagopalan (2004) points out, the countries of the inner circle are themselves increasingly multilingual and exhibit a wide range of outer and expanding circle varieties of English. It is questionable, he argues, whether these countries should continue to serve as a linguistic model for the rest of the world, given the way in which such speakers currently constitute a minority of English speakers globally. Widdowson (1994) argues that this means that English has ceased to be the cultural property of any particular group of speakers. Increasingly it is taught to students who will use it mainly to interact with other speakers of English as a second language rather than with 'native speakers'. For ELT this raises issues of which variety to teach, what kind of cultural content include, and how explicitly it is to be addressed. Such issues are particularly pressing for ELT publishers who wish to market coursebooks which are aimed at the global market. How this has been addressed by British ELT is an issue which will be addressed later in this study.

At the same time it is important to mention that the current interest in culture within ELT is partly the consequence of the explosion of ELT globally. As teachers from Anglophone countries found themselves teaching English abroad in contexts very different from those in which they had been trained, ideas about culture which may be traced to the cognitive conception referred to in 2.4.1 gained some currency in the 1990s. A good example of this kind of material can be found in Gray and Leather (1999) - a resource book of activities for teachers working with Japanese students. The book is premised on the fact that the Japanese are culturally 'hardwired' very differently from western students and that, unless teachers take these cultural differences into account, teaching and learning may be frustrating experiences. The

book aims to ‘help the non-Japanese teacher to decode the behaviour of their students in the classroom’ (ibid: 7) and points out that ‘many Japanese people have an excellent visual memory’ (ibid: 12); that ‘the Japanese educational system trains students to expect binary oppositions; doubt and uncertainty are not valued very highly’ (ibid: 19); and that ‘one of the features of discursive speaking within the western tradition is the ability to say why one holds a certain opinion or believes a certain thing’ (ibid: 25), but that ‘this can be quite difficult for Japanese people’ (ibid: 25). Such an approach has been criticized by Holliday (1999) as ‘culturist’ – by which he means a process whereby the language learner is reduced to a set of cultural stereotypes and all behaviour is then explained in terms of perceived cultural differences. My point in raising this issue here is to suggest that, while Stern (1983: 246) may be largely right in concluding that language teaching in the twentieth century lacked a ‘well-defined sociocultural emphasis’, the view that learners might be perceived as ‘culturally’ different came to assume greater importance towards the end of the century - thus helping to foreground the question of the role of culture in ELT more generally.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an historical overview of the main developments in the conceptualization of culture and I have suggested that theorizing about culture has also involved to a large extent theorizing about language. In Chapter 1 I indicated that the role of culture in the teaching of modern languages, including English, is currently being re-examined and I have argued that the thrust of this re-examination has its origins in the Humboldtian tradition which ascribes to language learning a particular kind of educational value. It is a view of pedagogy which views language learning as more than simply the acquisition of a new code for the expression of personal meanings but one which aims to foster openness to other cultures, the relativizing of the learner’s worldview, and a critical awareness of self and one’s own culture. At the same time, I have suggested that issues of culture with regard to ELT are particularly problematic, given the way English currently exists in the world.

In the next chapter I review the existing frameworks for the analysis of cultural content in ELT materials. I outline the problems associated with these and I conclude by introducing a new framework which is philosophically and methodologically congruent with a cultural studies perspective on the analysis of cultural content in global materials.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS A DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

As stated earlier the aims of the thesis are threefold: firstly, to describe the nature of cultural content in a representative sample of global ELT coursebooks produced in Britain; secondly, to explain the form this content takes; and thirdly, to explore what practising teachers think about this content, and by extension, how they construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching more generally. In the previous chapter I argued that the term culture had a wide variety of disciplinary meanings and a specific, if convoluted, history. In my historical survey I suggested that, as conceptions of culture evolved, new meanings tended to accrue to the term in such a way that older meanings were not completely eclipsed.

In Chapter 1 I proposed that all carrier content in ELT coursebooks was essentially cultural and that such a view was congruent with a cultural studies perspective. As a prelude to introducing the descriptive framework to be used in this study I begin with an overview of the philosophical implications of a cultural studies approach. This is followed by a review of the different types of descriptive frameworks already in existence. Such a review is necessary for two reasons: firstly, it gives an indication of how culture has been addressed in ELT thinking on materials, and secondly, by providing information on features of design it enables me to produce a framework which is appropriate for this thesis.

3.2 Implications of a cultural studies approach

Hall (1997a) states that from the perspective of cultural studies culture has both a substantive and an epistemological dimension. The substantive dimension has to do with the 'growth of the mass media, new global information systems and flows, and new visual forms of communication' (du Gay, Hall *et al.* 1997: 1), and the ways in which these permeate so many aspects of contemporary social life. The epistemological dimension, on the other hand, refers to

culture's position in relation to matters of knowledge and conceptualization , that is how 'culture' is used to transform our understanding, explanations and theoretical models of the world (Hall 1997a: 208-209).

For Hall, this goes to the heart of the 'cultural turn', which he sees as being about more than simply putting culture on an equal footing with the economic and the political. Rather, he explains it as being related to a view of language, understood as 'a general term for the practices of representation' (ibid: 220), in which 'reality' is seen as being discursively constructed. Hall (1992b: 291) defines discourse as

a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed.

Following Foucault (1972), Hall (1997b: 44) elaborates on this as follows:

Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But [...] since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct - all practices have a discursive aspect.

Citing Laclau and Mouffe (1990 in Hall 1997b), he gives the example of a stone that could be used for building a wall. While it may be said to exist independently of any description or set of social relations, the stone only takes on the particular meaning it has for a bricklayer within the discourse of wall building. On this view, meanings are not seen as fixed, but as discursively constructed – in another discourse the stone could be constructed as a weapon or as an object of scientific enquiry. Hall (1982) suggests that a similar perspective on the constructed nature of reality is also present in the social constructionism of Berger and Luckmann (1966: 36) who argue that 'language marks the coordinates of [...] life and fills that life with meaningful objects'.

In her survey of social constructionism, Burr (2003: 4) points out that such a perspective has implications for the status of knowledge:

The particular forms of knowledge that abound in any culture are therefore artefacts of it, and we should not assume that *our* ways of understanding are necessarily any better, in terms of being any nearer the truth, than other ways.

In Hall's (1997a) view the consequences of this are far-reaching as they call into question Enlightenment notions of impartiality, objectivity and truth in human enquiry. Hall (1997b) is sympathetic to Foucault's (1980) view that truth and power are intimately linked. For the latter, truth does not exist outside power and 'is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint' (ibid: 131) – a process which for Hall is ideological.

Clearly this has implications for the claims which can be made on behalf of research. Hall's (1992c) own view is that all descriptions of reality are ideological. That is to say, they are not distortions in the Marxist sense (and therefore capable of being opposed to a 'true' account), but partial and situated accounts which must be recognized as such. Commenting on the collection of chapters in his introduction to *Formations of Modernity*, Hall (1992c) suggests ways in which research in a constructionist paradigm can be presented and read. He draws attention to the high degree of 'reflexivity and self-consciousness about language, writing, and the forms which explanations take' (ibid: 12), and adds that all such authored accounts

do not carry the impersonal guarantee of inevitably and truth. Consequently, arguments and positions are advanced here in a more tentative and provisional way [...] Readers should recognize that arguments advanced in the book are open to debate, not variants of the Authorized Version (ibid).

At the same time as making the case for 'systematic, rigorous, coherent, comprehensive, conceptually clear, well-evidenced accounts' (ibid), Hall recognizes that all research is ultimately interpretative in character.

Taking my own cue from this injunction, I locate this thesis within the same epistemological framework - that is, as a construction which is open to debate. It is offered in the same spirit of criticality which has typified a strand of applied linguistics thinking for over a decade and a half (e.g. Dendrinos 1992; Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994, 1998, 2001, Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2005 *inter al.*). Agreeing with Pennycook (2001: 88), I take the view that there is 'no escape from questions of power, no escape from ideology or discourse' – to which I would add that this commits those of us involved in ELT research to transparency in our

accounts of research design, a reflexive awareness of our own position throughout the research process, and the aim of creating plausible interpretations as opposed to the discovery of truth.

3.2.1 *Cultural studies as a mode of enquiry*

How then to design and carry out a research project which is congruent with a cultural studies perspective? Du Gay, Hall *et al.* (1997: 3) offer a theoretical model known as the 'circuit of culture' as being appropriate for the study of how culture operates in contemporary society. By way of illustration they subject the Sony Walkman, as a commonplace contemporary cultural artefact, to an analysis which takes the form of a biographical case study. The 'circuit of culture', reproduced in Fig. 3.1, explores five key moments (also referred to as dimensions or processes) in the life of cultural artefacts: representation - how meaning is inscribed in the way artefacts are represented, either visually and/or verbally; identity - which social identities and lifestyles are associated with the artefact; production - how the artefact is designed, produced, and marketed; regulation - how political, economic or other factors regulate the circulation of meanings; and consumption - how the artefact is consumed, and how consumers can identify themselves as members of a group, or make identity statements about themselves through their consumption and use of commodities.

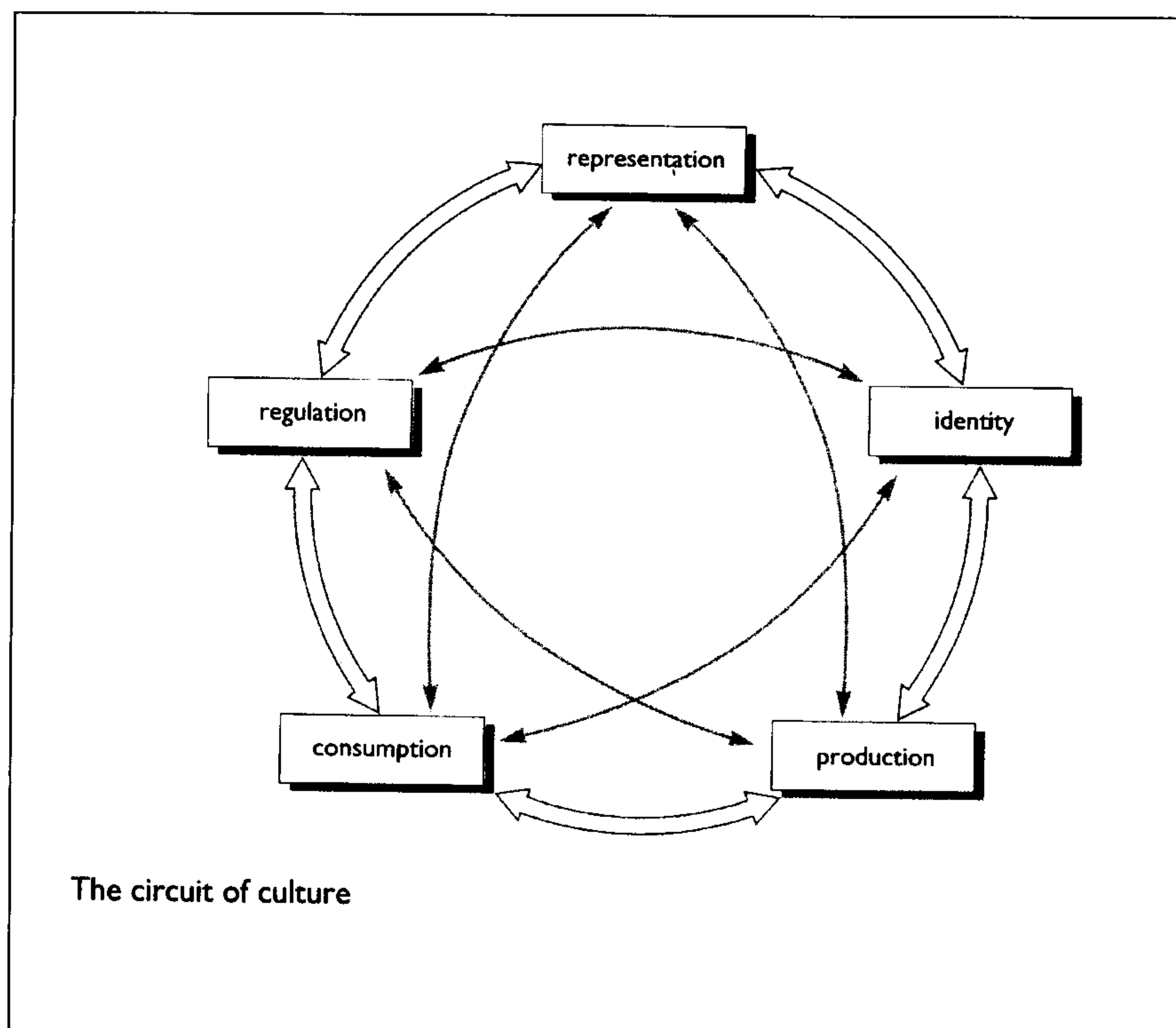


Fig. 3.1 The circuit of culture (Du Gay, Hall *et al.* 1997)

The model is can be seen as an attempt to break with Marxist oriented sociology's tendency to privilege the processes of production at the expense of other processes in the creation of meaning. The various moments are held to co-exist in an articulated relationship whereby all elements are equally constitutive of meaning.

Given the aims of this thesis and given my contention in Chapter 1 that the ELT coursebook, as well as being an educational tool, is also a highly wrought cultural artefact, the 'circuit of culture' may be said to offer a theoretical basis for its exploration. Du Gay, Hall *et al.* (1997) recognize that there is a considerable degree of overlap between the various dimensions. Thus, for example, they explain that it is difficult to talk about representation without also talking about the identities which are represented. Similarly it is difficult to disambiguate the processes of production from those of regulation. For this reason I have modified the model by linking those moments where overlap most clearly occurs in the case of coursebooks. In this way the 'circuit of culture' aligns more closely with the specific questions which this research poses. Thus the first question - What form has cultural content taken in global ELT coursebooks produced in Britain since the 1970s? - is clearly concerned

with identifying the nature of the representations made in coursebooks, and with the identities which are associated with English. The second research question - Why has cultural content taken this form? - raises issues to do with the ways in which coursebooks are produced and the ways in which their content is regulated. The third and fourth questions - What views do practicing teachers hold about the nature of cultural content? and How do practicing teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching? – raise issues to do with the ways in which the primary consumers make sense of such artefacts.

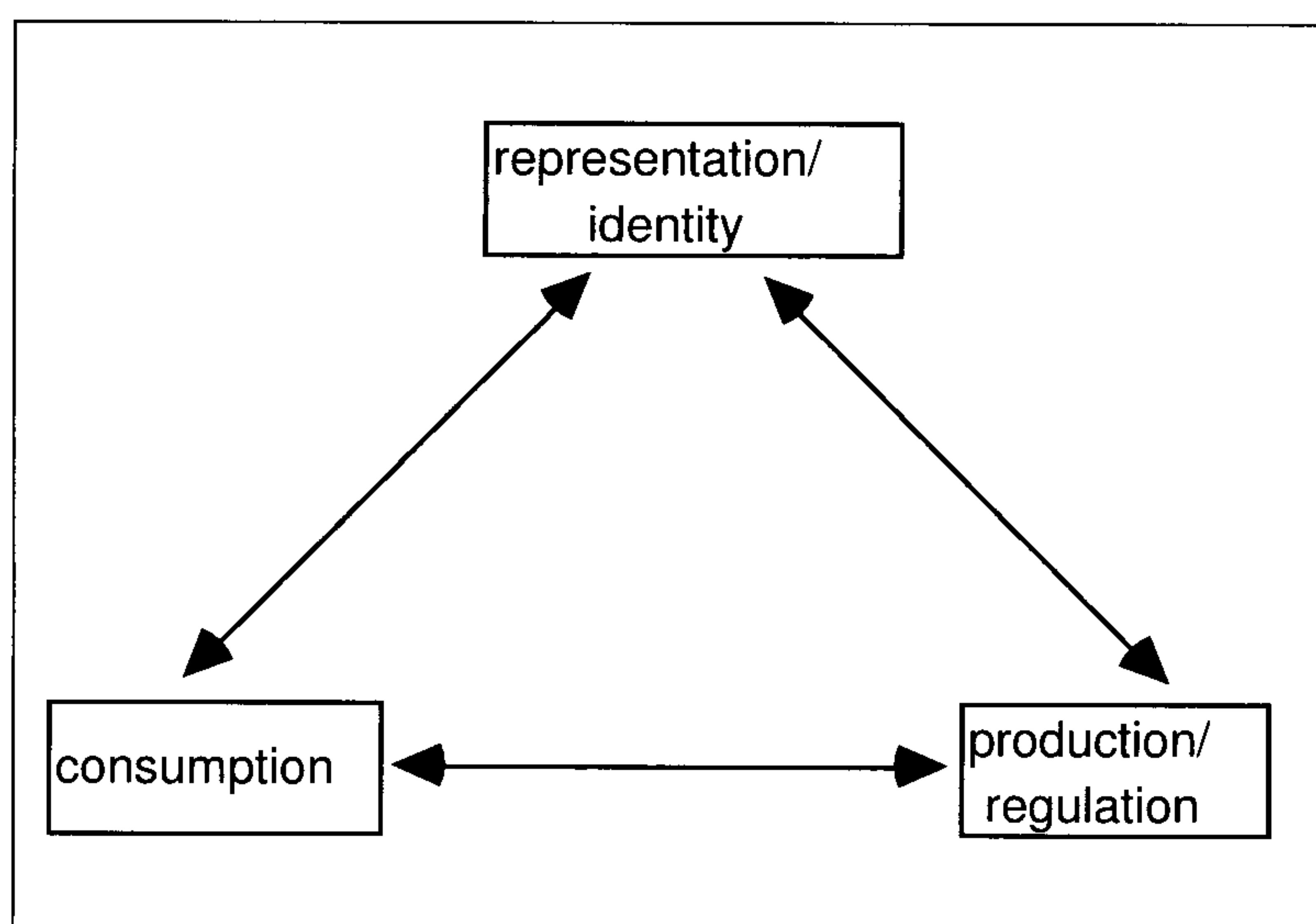


Fig. 3.2 Modified circuit of culture

The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the introduction of a descriptive framework which takes into consideration the moments of representation and identity which will allow me to address the first research question. In the interests of readability and coherent presentation of the thesis, this chapter is followed by the application of the framework to the coursebook sample. The specific methodological issues relating to the remaining research questions and the ways in which they relate to the ‘circuit of culture’ are reserved for Chapter 6.

3.3 Existing descriptive frameworks

The most common way for teachers to select and evaluate a coursebook has traditionally been to examine it against a pre-determined checklist of characteristics

deemed essential. Such frameworks, which may thus be seen as normative as well as descriptive, reflect the beliefs of their writers about the nature and scope of language teaching and learning.

An examination of the descriptive frameworks most commonly cited in the literature shows that culture has been dealt with very unevenly over the last twenty years. Essentially all frameworks are of two types - those which can be labelled 'non-specific' and have been produced for the general evaluation of coursebook content and those which can be labelled 'specific' and have been produced for the description or evaluation of cultural content only. Non-specific frameworks (e.g. Williams 1983; Cunningsworth 1984; 1995; Breen & Candlin 1987, Sheldon 1988, Skierso 1991) vary considerably in terms of emphasis. For example, Williams (1983) mentions culture explicitly in only two out of twenty-eight criteria for coursebook evaluation, while Breen and Candlin (1987) make no explicit mention of culture at all. Non-specific frameworks which do address culture in varying degrees can also be found in the literature aimed at teacher training or teacher development courses – e.g. Harmer (2001) and McDonough and Shaw (2003). Those frameworks which do address culture reveal two broad areas of concern – namely the representational practices associated with the target language (e.g. Sheldon asks if the omission of certain topics contributes to a sanitized picture being painted of target language cultures) and the consideration accorded to the cultures of the students in the learning process (e.g. Williams (1983), Cunningsworth (1984) and Skierso (1991) mention the extent to which the students' background is taken into consideration). As might be expected, these concerns also feature in those frameworks which have been devised for the specific evaluation of cultural content.

3.3.1 Specific descriptive frameworks

In this section I focus on two of the most influential frameworks for the description of cultural content – that of Risager (1991) and Byram (1993). Risager's (1991) framework purports to provide for a comprehensive description. As can be seen in Fig. 3.3 below, the categories in her framework suggest a view of cultural content compatible with the Humboldtian view of language teaching and learning outlined in Chapter 2. In fact, Byram (1991: 24) suggests that her categories can be 'seen as a

programme for future developments in textbook writing’ – a recommendation which may be seen as indicating a certain commonality of interest.

1. The micro level – phenomena of social and cultural anthropology:
 - a. the social and geographical definition of characters
 - b. material environment
 - c. situations of interaction
 - d. interaction and subjectivity of the characters: feelings, attitudes, values, and perceived problems.
2. The macro level – social, political, and historical matters:
 - e. broad social facts about contemporary society (geographical, economic, political etc.)
 - f. broad sociopolitical problems (unemployment, pollution etc.)
 - g. historical background.
3. International and intercultural issues:
 - h. comparisons between the foreign country and the pupil’s own
 - i. mutual representations, images, stereotypes
 - j. mutual relations: cultural power and dominance, co-operation and conflict.
4. Point of view and style of the author(s).

Fig. 3.3 Risager’s (1991: 182-183) framework for describing cultural content

Risager’s framework begins with a micro level description and is concerned mainly with identifying the coursebook’s characters, their feelings and attitudes, the world they inhabit, and the nature of their interactions. This is followed by a macro level description which is concerned with the type of content referred to in Chapter 2 as *background studies* – namely social and historical information about the country/countries in which the target language is spoken. The third level allows for the description of cross-cultural aspects of the material and an assessment of its potential to allow students to relativize their world view, while a fourth level seeks to identify the position of the writer(s) with regard to the content. Applying this to a selection of coursebooks used in Sweden from the 1950s onwards, Risager (1991) was able to make a number of detailed statements about the nature of cultural content which suggests her framework has considerable operative power. That said, (as is

often the case with such frameworks) it is unclear just how she applied it or how she selected the coursebooks for analysis.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) identify Byram's (1993) framework for selection and evaluation of coursebook cultural content as being among the most thorough. Byram (1993: 32) provides his own definition of culture as 'shared knowledge, agreed interpretations, common meanings which are to be found among people belonging to a specific group'. The notion of a specific group he points out has traditionally been associated with the nation state - so that, for example, when the language being studied is German the specific group represented in the coursebook has generally been the Germans who inhabit the German nation state. Such a link between language and the inhabitants of a particular nation state is problematic and, as suggested in the previous chapter, particularly so in the case of English. The fact that English is used to encode a wide range of cultural meanings and that it fulfills very different roles for different kinds of speaker in many different countries means that the selection of cultural content for English language coursebooks aimed at the global market is necessarily problematic – a fact recognized (although not discussed) by Byram and Fleming (1998).

Byram (1993) argues that the basis for selection must be established clearly in advance. His own basis is the view of language-and-culture teaching outlined in Chapter 2, in which the language classroom is recast as *the* significant site of Humboldtian education. Running parallel with the linguistic aim is an educational aim to promote an understanding of target language cultures and a concomitant insight into the learner's own cultures. Byram's solution to the problem of selection is to propose a 'minimum content' (ibid: 34-35) list which, he suggests, could be applied to any language.

The list is summarized as follows:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social identity and social groups (ethnic minorities, social class, regional identity)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social interaction (conventions of behaviour at differing levels of familiarity, as outsider and insider)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • belief and behaviour (taken-for-granted actions within a social group, moral and religious beliefs, daily routines)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social and political institutions (state institutions, health care, law and order, social security, local government)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • socialisation and the life-cycle (families, schools, employment, rites of passage, divergent practices in different social groups, national auto-stereotypes of expectations)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • national history (historical and contemporary events which are significant in the constitution of the nation and its identity)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • national geography (geographical factors seen as being significant, national boundaries and changes to them)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stereotypes and national identity (notions of what is typical, origins of these notions, symbols of national stereotypes)

Fig. 3.4 Byram's (1993) minimum cultural content for coursebooks

Byram points out that this list is drawn up at a high level of generality so as not to restrict the coursebook writer at the moment of selection of specific cultural content. However, he argues that when the aim is to evaluate an already existing coursebook the categories on the list need to become much more nuanced. By way of example he suggests that the first category above might include 'Gastarbeiter, Linguistic Minority Groups, Aussiedler, asylum seekers' (ibid: 36) as specific social groups to be represented in a coursebook designed for the teaching of German to British students.

Byram (ibid: 33) suggests that the minimum content topics should take the form of a 'spiral curriculum' – that is, they should be dealt with repeatedly and in greater depth as learners develop cognitively and acquire more language. He makes no case for the order of presentation apart from the suggestion that stereotypes should be dealt with first. The reason being that stereotypes are said to 'colour' (ibid) attitudes to the foreign cultures and consequently need to be addressed so that their function can be understood and critiqued. Here Byram distinguishes between two types – autostereotypes, which are those people have about themselves and heterostereotypes, which are those people have about others. Thus British students may have ideas about what the British are like and contrasting ideas about what the French are like. In Byram's view these ideas need to be explored in the classroom if language teaching is to fulfill its Humboldtian aim of relativizing the students' worldview.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999), in their survey of descriptive frameworks, conclude that the representation of culture is more complex than many existing frameworks presuppose. They suggest that ELT coursebooks can be based on the learners' own culture, on a number of target cultures (countries such as the US or the UK where English is used as a first language), or on international target cultures (countries where English may be used as an international language). Existing frameworks, they argue,

are predicated on the notion that the cultures mirrored in EFL textbooks will be target cultures, that questions of cultural identity are unproblematic, and that for the most part culture will be construed in terms of declarative knowledge (knowing that) rather than as procedural knowledge (knowing how) or the development of intercultural skills (ibid: 204).

In line with their own specifically cross-cultural orientation they end their survey by making the case for a broader conception of cultural content – that is, one which looks beyond target cultures only as being of relevance, and one which incorporates a methodology of culture learning – and the concomitant need for more nuanced frameworks to take such a broader conception into consideration.

In the following section I consider the methodological implications of a descriptive framework appropriate for this study. It is clear that, regardless of the way in which culture has been addressed within the field to date, my own framework will have to

accommodate the expanded view of culture which a cultural studies perspective presupposes.

3.4 Methodological considerations

An aspect of description so far not considered in any detail is quantification of aspects of content. In fact some of the most systematic and detailed studies of language teaching materials have approached description through the specific methodology of content analysis – Porreca (1984), for example, through quantification of various elements of content, was able to conclude that sexism was prevalent in all the ELT materials she surveyed. Two classic definitions of content analysis have been provided by Berelson (1952) and Holsti (1969) – and, while subsequent definitions have sought to elaborate on these, the basic elements they mention remain constant. For Berelson (1952: 18) content analysis is ‘a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’, while for Holsti (1969: 14) it is ‘any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages’. Two of the most detailed doctoral studies of language teaching coursebooks using a content analysis approach were conducted by Littlejohn (1992) and Sercu (2000). A brief overview of both of these is necessary in assessing the relevance of a content analysis approach in this thesis, particularly as Littlejohn’s study focused on ELT materials and Sercu’s concentrated exclusively on cultural content.

3.5 Content analysis and language teaching coursebooks

Littlejohn set out to answer just one research question – Why are English language teaching materials the way they are?, while Sercu sought to examine the potential of a sample of German language coursebooks for promoting intercultural communicative competence.

Littlejohn (1998: 191) points out that one of the problems associated with many of the frameworks surveyed above is that they tend to lead to generalized and impressionist judgements rather than ‘examining in depth what the materials contain’. He makes the case for

a framework which separates assumptions about what is desirable, from an analysis of the materials [...] a general framework which allows materials to 'speak for themselves' (ibid).

To answer his research question Littlejohn (1992) analysed five coursebooks using a descriptive framework which is built up in two stages. The first stage involves a model for the 'product of description' (ibid: 29), by which he means a framework which sets out the areas to be described. Throughout this thesis I use the term 'framework' to refer to the various descriptive instruments which have been devised. Littlejohn (1992) uses the term 'model'. Here he considers aspects of design (underlying principles) and aspects of realization (the form in which underlying principles are realized). Design includes aims, principles of selection, principles of sequencing, subject matter and focus of subject matter, types of learning/teaching activities, participation, learner roles, teacher roles, and the role of materials as a whole. Realization includes the place of the learner's materials in any wider set of materials, the published form of the learner's materials, subdivision of the learner's materials into sections, further subdivision of sections into sub-sections, continuity, route, access. This is followed by a model for the 'process of description' (ibid: 31) which involves answering questions at three levels of inference – What is there? (physical aspects of the material); What is required of users? (analysis of tasks); and What is implied? ('statements about what appear to be the overall *aims* of the material and the basis on which *selection* and *sequencing* of task types and task content operate' [ibid: 46]). Both these models are then synthesized (see Appendix 1).

Littlejohn then subjected his sample of coursebooks to the synthesized model and presented the results level by level. This enabled him to make both quantitative statements about the overall nature of the materials (e.g. 10.99% of practice activities are devoted to oral repetition, while 2.09% are devoted to group discussion [ibid: 58]) and also statements of general qualitative analysis (e.g. 'Access into the learner's materials as well as ancillary 'support' facilities such as answer keys, guidance on using the materials and tape transcript, are provided only via the materials intended for the teacher. This places the learner's materials in a dependent role vis-à-vis the teacher's materials' [ibid: 61]). Littlejohn (1992) then sought to account for the descriptions in the light of a number of different theoretical perspectives.

Sercu's (2000) study is different in a number of ways. Firstly, her concern is exclusively with cultural content, and secondly, although her framework is used to describe, it is also used as an evaluative instrument. The framework is based on a modified version of that outlined in Risager (1991) and is heavily indebted to Byram's (1993) minimum content list. Sercu focuses on six series of coursebooks for the teaching of German to Belgian schoolchildren. It is a much larger study than that carried out by Littlejohn and includes two volumes from each series and the corresponding workbooks. Sercu's framework has seven dimensions – known as 'fields' in her study (see Appendix 2).

Before outlining the procedure followed in the generation of data it is important to clarify some of Sercu's basic assumptions. In the introduction to her framework she asserts that 'a textbook's potential for promoting culture learning can ... be said to be dependent on the *amount of culture* it presents, as well as on the *emphasis* that culture gets through repetition or visual accentuation' (italics in the original) (ibid: 255). This immediately raises the question of what counts as culture in her framework.

Following Holsti (1969), who suggested that 'theme' was generally the most useful unit of analysis, Sercu introduces thirty-three 'themes' derived from Byram (1993) as constituting cultural content. These are: leisure, culture, geography, transportation, personal identity, commerce/economy, education, occupation/profession, history, food and drinks, media/communication, body culture/fashion, society/social life, life cycle, house/home, environment, foreign language, law, national symbols, feasts and ceremonies, politics/war and peace, mentality, family, language, (im)migration, international relations, science, animal, norms and values, religion, third world, stereotypes, multiculturalism. All other content which cannot be categorized under these themes is ignored in the analysis.

In reply to an email request for clarification about how the framework was operationalized, Sercu (who granted permission to quote her, June 2004) replied:

When carrying out the analysis I indeed began with theme and filled in the information regarding this theme in each of the fields of my database (personal communication, June 2003).

Again, following Holsti (1969), the emphasis (or ‘weight’ in content analysis terminology) accorded to each theme is calculated according to the number of lines devoted to it, or, in the case of artwork, the number of square centimetres it occupies on the page. This information is entered into Field 7 of the framework. The resulting data eventually allows her to make quantitative statements of the following type:

all investigated series, notwithstanding their own particularities, show very similar patterns in their address of cultural topics over volumes, with leisure (16.99%), geography (10.52%), personal identity (10.44%), culture (9.55%) and transportation (7.43%) being most frequently addressed ... (Sercu 2000: 276).

Ultimately the information generated by the content analysis is not considered to be a sufficient indicator of the potential for promoting intercultural competence. Thus in a second stage of data analysis a number of cultural themes (German people, history, media, cooking) are explored more qualitatively.

3.6 Assessment of content analysis

As stated earlier, both Littlejohn’s and Sercu’s studies have research aims which are ultimately different from those of this thesis. Littlejohn’s framework, although detailed and concerned with describing content, what is required of students, and what the content implies, is in fact largely concerned with pedagogic tasks and the cognitive processing they require. Sercu’s survey is primarily concerned with cultural content in language teaching materials and although the aim is to describe this content, the framework she uses is ultimately employed to evaluate the materials in terms of their capacity to develop intercultural communicative competence. However, there are a number of problems involved in using her framework in this study at both the operational and the philosophical level.

At the operational level font size and layout can present problems for the calculation of weight based on line count. By way of experiment I chose two texts at random from a coursebook for comparison. One had forty-four lines and the other nineteen. In terms of weight the extract with most lines is heaviest (that is, most prominent or salient) following Sercu’s procedure. However, an alternative means of calculating

weight – this time by word count - shows that the text with most lines had two hundred and twelve words while the text with fewest lines had two hundred and nineteen words. In reply to a question for clarification on this point Sercu explained her approach as follows:

When doing the detailed, page by page analysis, I did not take account of the typography used in the textbook. I considered one line as one line, irrespective of whether or not that line was written in a large or smaller font size. The idea of the whole analysis was to quantify the cultural information contained in each textbook, and to compare different textbooks in this respect. Since each textbook will have lines printed in larger or smaller font sizes at some point, I assumed that, therefore, there was no need to take account of font sizes when calculating the weight of a cultural theme on the page (email communication, June 2003).

Her view is that possible discrepancies of the type I suggested are evened out over the course of the whole analysis. However, such potential inconsistency apart, a more serious problem occurs at the philosophical level. In Chapter 1, as a way into the subject matter of the thesis, I presented three snapshots from three different aspects of my professional life in the 1990s. In my discussion of these snapshots I argued that they raised issues which are essentially cultural. I argued that such a position represented an expanded view of culture, unlike that normally found in the ELT and modern foreign languages literature. However, such a view is congruent with that found in cultural studies generally. Hall (1997a: 222), it will be remembered, argued that

culture is nothing but the sum of the different classificatory systems and discursive formations, on which language draws in order to give meaning to things.

Such a non-essentialized view of culture is philosophically at odds with one which holds that culture can be encapsulated in thirty-three themes. Clearly content analysis *can* be a useful research tool as instanced by the Littlejohn (1992) study. However, the problem in terms of this thesis lies in the a priori establishment of themes which essentialize culture.

Interestingly Joan Kelly Hall (2002: 19), who aligns herself with Street's (1993) non-reified view of culture, argues that it is 'a dynamic, vital, and emergent *process*' (my

italics), also devises a framework based on thematic categories for the analysis of cultural content in EFL texts. Her list has fifteen separate themes, each of which, with the exception of 'other', can also be linked to Byram's (1993) minimum content list. However, her framework does not seek to quantify 'weight' in terms of numbers of lines. Rather, she describes her framework as a form of discourse analysis in which key words and phrases related to her fifteen themes are recorded, and the gender, race, age, location etc. of characters are also noted. Such an approach, whatever the reservations about the use of only fifteen themes, would certainly allow for a very different type of description to that provided by Sercu.

Given that the methodological approaches to the analysis of cultural content reviewed here reveal, at least in part, a philosophical incompatibility with the expanded view of culture mentioned earlier, I return again in the following section to the du Gay, Hall *et al.* (1997) study of the Sony Walkman as suggestive of a possible way forward.

3.7 A representational repertoire

As I pointed out in 3.1, the framework advanced in this chapter aims to generate data which will make it possible to answer the first research question and address the moments of representation and identity on the 'circuit of culture'. Du Gay, Hall *et al.* (1997: 14ff.), in addressing these moments, begin by suggesting that the Walkman has no intrinsic meaning – rather, they argue, its meaning is constructed through the representational practices employed in advertising campaigns and through texts, both corporate and journalistic, in which the product is given a specific history and is repeatedly talked about in specific ways. They conclude that the visual and linguistic choices made in the production of promotional material for the Walkman and associated texts constitute a 'representational repertoire' (ibid: 39) which,

where it is not trading on the 'idea' and credibility-rating of the name of Sony Walkman itself and its technological sophistication and high quality, is relentlessly and overwhelmingly clustered around [...] meanings of mobility, sport, activity, leisure, and youth, youth, youth (ibid: 39).

A representational repertoire might thus be described as the stock of ideas, images and ways of talking which are deployed in the creation of a set of meanings for the

Walkman. The idea of a framework based on such a concept is more useful in terms of this thesis, I would suggest, than one based on the pre-specification of a fixed number of themes deemed cultural. A key feature in the identification of the representational repertoires deployed in the Walkman study is the analysis of the artwork, and it is to this that I now turn.

It could be argued that the specific frameworks surveyed earlier do not address the visual component of coursebooks in sufficient depth – if, in fact, they address it at all. Kullman's (2003) study is a notable exception to this. His research explores the way in which learner identity is constructed in British ELT coursebooks and one dimension of his analysis includes a set of questions related to the role played by the visual component. These relate to the role visuals play in structuring coursebook units; additional functions of visuals; who is depicted, where they are depicted, and how they are depicted (ibid: Appendix A2, no pagination). Such questions are also relevant to the development of the framework being advanced here.

In fact, the visual dimension in language teaching textbooks *has* been regarded as important, although somewhat intermittently, at least since the time of Comenius (in Howatt 1984). Corder (1966) suggests that Comenius was the first to realize the importance of the senses in language teaching, particularly with regard to the teaching of meaning. In his account of the role of the visual dimension in language teaching, Corder (1966) argues that visual cognition assumes most importance in the area of situational meaning and suggests the use of visuals is equivalent to opening a window onto the world beyond the classroom. In the following sub-section I outline the approach to the artwork I have chosen to use here.

3.7.1 *Analysing artwork*

In deciding on which approach to follow I have been heavily influenced by the literature on social semiotics (Hodge & Kress 1988, Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2001) and multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, Burn & Parker 2003). This approach to text analysis views the process of representation as ideological – in the sense that representations, involving the deployment of a range of semiotic resources (e.g. words, images, colour, sound, etc.), may be said to constitute

versions of social reality which serve the interests of those who create and disseminate them.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), and those working within the social semiotic paradigm, propose that Halliday's (1978) notion of metafunctions of language – namely the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual – are applicable to semiotic modes other than the linguistic. These terms have been somewhat recast within social semiotics and multimodal theory – as the 'representational', the 'interactive', and the 'compositional' (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Jewitt & Oyama 2001), and as the 'representational', the 'orientational' and the 'organizational' (Burn & Parker 2003) – however, the basic meanings remain the same.

Hallidayean metafunctions of language	Social semiotic term	Multimodal term
ideational (concerned with the representational function of language)	representational	representational
interpersonal (concerned with writer/reader and speaker/hearer interaction)	interactive	orientational
textual (concerned with bringing the ideational and the interpersonal together to form a genre/communicative event)	compositional	organizational

Table 3.1 Social semiotic and multimodal equivalencies for Hallidayean metafunctions of language

As I suggested above, the ELT coursebook may be seen as an environment which has to be peopled, themed, and located in the creation of a representational repertoire. However, this can be achieved only partly through language – a large part of this task is achieved through the use of artwork – which, in the case of coursebooks, consists mainly of photographs, line drawings, and charts – although font size and font colour are also potential carriers of meaning.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 46) point out that 'there are two kinds of participant involved in every semiotic act, the *interactive participants* and the *represented participants*'. The former are those involved in the act of communication (e.g. writer/reader) and the latter are those actually represented in the artwork. In the case of photographs and line drawings a descriptive framework can identify *who* is depicted (e.g. whether represented participants are real or fictional, their sex, age, ethnicity, and job), *where* they are depicted, *how* they are depicted, and *what* they are shown doing. Social semiotics also suggests that representational meaning may have a

narrative structure (where participants are shown interacting in some way – for example, a photograph of a service encounter) or a conceptual structure (as in the case of a line drawing of the human body with all parts labelled). Such choices are meaningful. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) illustrate this with an example from an Australian social studies textbook. They show how the juxtaposition of artwork of Aboriginal tools and weapons (a conceptual structure in which an axe, a basket and a wooden sword are used to represent indigenous peoples) and artwork of government troops actively engaged in military activity against Aboriginals (a dynamic narrative structure) combine to differentiate the two groups in ways which they suggest are ideologically motivated.

Interactive meaning has three aspects (Jewitt & Oyama 2001) – contact, distance, and point of view – each of which has to do with establishing a relationship with the viewer. Related to this is the concept of modality, which has to do with the way in which the speaker/writer's stance vis-à-vis the truth/credibility claims of the 'text' are signalled. I will deal with each of these in turn. With regard to contact, represented participants may be shown interacting with each other or they may be shown looking out of the photograph to meet the gaze of an imagined viewer. Again using terminology borrowed from Halliday (1985), the first type of interaction, in which the represented participants are made available for the viewer's contemplation/scrutiny, is referred to as an 'offer' (in the sense that information of some kind or other is being offered to the viewer), and the second type, in which the viewer may be said to enter into a kind of imaginary contact with the represented participant, is referred to as a 'demand'. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 122-123) explain this second type as follows:

the participant's gaze (and gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her. Exactly what kind of relation is then signified by other means [...] They may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior; they may seductively pout at the viewer, in which case the viewer is asked to desire them.

The second aspect of interactive meaning is distance, which draws on proxemics, and refers to the meaning potential of the space implied between the viewer and the represented participants. Film terminology is often used here to categorize distances on a cline from a close-up, showing the head and face only, to types of long shot showing the whole body and surrounding space. The various distances can be used to establish different types of relationship. For example, Jewitt and Oyama (2001) suggest that a close-up can be used to suggest intimacy, a medium shot to suggest a social relationship, and a long shot to imply a more impersonal relationship. The third aspect of interactive meaning is point of view. This refers to the way in which represented participants can be depicted above, at, or below eye-level. It also refers to the choice of whether they are seen from the front, the side or the back. Such perspectives position the viewer quite literally and are part of an image's meaning potential. In the words of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 135):

In the case of the vertical angle this relation will be one of symbolic power. If you look down on something, you will look at it from a position of symbolic power. If you look up at something, that something has some kind of symbolic power over you. At eye-level there is a relation of symbolic equality. In the case of the horizontal angle, the relation will be one of involvement with, or detachment from, what is represented. Frontality allows the creation of maximum involvement. The viewer is directly confronted with what is in the picture. If something is depicted from the side, the viewer literally and figuratively remains on the sidelines.

As mentioned above, a related aspect of interactive meaning is modality which also has its origins in linguistics. As Fairclough (2003: 165ff.) points out, the scope for the realization of linguistic modality is wide – encompassing the use of modal verbs (e.g. may, might, etc.), modal adverbs (e.g. possibly, certainly, etc.), participial adjectives (e.g. permitted, required, etc.), ways of representing mental process clauses (e.g. I think, we assume, etc.), modal adjectives (e.g. possible, certain), ways of representing appearance (e.g. it seems, it appears), and hedges (e.g. sort of, kind of, etc.). But the concept of modality can also be applied to other semiotic modes such as intonation, gesture and visual images. With regard to the latter, modality refers to the ways in which visual representations are used to make truth/credibility claims within culturally and contextually determined conventions. Drawing on Bernstein (1981), Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest four coding orientations for visual modality - the naturalistic, the sensory, the abstract and the technological. The first of these, in

which the convention of 35mm photography is accepted as ‘an adequate stand-in for what is seen by the human eye’ (Kuhn 1985: 27), is described by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) as the dominant coding orientation in western society (at least for the time being); the second, in which colour and image sharpness are manipulated to induce pleasure or elicit some kind of emotional response from the viewer, is often found in advertising texts; the third is found in those contexts (e.g. scientific or academic) in which a phenomenon or a process is shorn of superficial details with a view to representing its essential nature diagrammatically; finally, the fourth is found in those visual representations, such as architectural plans, which function as blueprints.

It should also be pointed out that there are degrees of modality within the above mentioned orientations. Take for example a colour photograph of a street scene. If colour and definition are drained from the image the modality is said to decrease. Similarly, modality decreases if the colour is super-saturated and the definition heightened so that the image begins to assume a surreal quality. With regard to line drawings, the amount of detail, the degree of physiological distortion, and the use of colour will combine to determine the modality of the representation.

The elements of compositional meaning are information value, framing and salience. The first of these refers to the placement of elements within a composition. For those using the Roman alphabet the direction in which a written text is read is from left to right and from top to bottom. Within social semiotics and multimodal theory such directionality is also held to be important in texts which draw on other semiotic modes. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that the left/right directionality creates a ‘given-new’ structure and that top/bottom directionality creates an ‘ideal-real’ structure. An example of what such an approach might mean in practice is provided by their analysis of an advertisement for soap which consists of a photograph of a woman in a bath. This image occupies the top half of the advertisement. Written information about the product is contained in the lower half of the advertisement. This refers to what is real – the product which exists and can be bought, whereas the image of the woman using the product and luxuriating in the bath points to what might be if the viewer were to buy the product.

The second aspect of compositional meaning is framing. This refers to the way in which elements are separated from or linked to each other on the page by the use of lines, arrows, colour or spacing. Framing can be used to suggest connections between various elements and to mark off elements as somehow differentiated. Finally, salience refers to the way in which degrees of significance can be allocated to elements within a composition through the use of colour, relative size and positioning.

That said, it is important to state that social semiotics does not claim to provide a means for the mechanical reading off of textual meaning – rather it provides a set of tools whereby visual resources can be interpreted within the social, cultural and historical context of their deployment. As Ferguson (2004) points out, the Union Jack can function as a signifier of the swinging sixties *and* the political right. Thus social semiotics does not regard meanings as inherent and fixed but as contingent and contextual. It is hoped that by incorporating the notion of representational, interactive, and compositional meaning into the descriptive framework advanced here, it will be possible to capture the visual dimension of the representational repertoires employed in each coursebook.

3.8 Descriptive framework

In the light of my discussion so far, it will be clear that the descriptive framework for this thesis cannot specify in advance what constitutes cultural content. Rather, as Littlejohn (1998: 192) suggests, the materials must be allowed to ‘speak for themselves’. For this reason, I would suggest that those organizational elements of content which are more or less common to all coursebooks – namely, what is known in ELT as the language systems (i.e. grammar, lexis and phonology) and the language skills (i.e. reading, listening, speaking and writing) can function as the basis for the descriptive framework because it is around these that the representational repertoires are constructed.

As an initial step it is important to identify the type of syllabus being followed and the purposes and contexts of language use which such a syllabus presupposes. Next there is the actual representation of language itself – an aspect not considered by Risager (1991) or Byram (1993). Collectively the language systems as deployed in the

coursebook may be said to represent the variety of English which is being taught. Van Ek (1975) recommended that the standard dialect should form the basis of teaching and, certainly in much of Europe, as Preisler (1999: 239) has pointed out ‘the teaching of English is still largely based on Standard British English and Received Pronunciation’. Although definitions of ‘standard English’ abound, several commentators have argued that the concept is difficult to characterize (e.g. Seidlhofer 2005; Jenkins 2006b). However, many definitions include the points made by Trudgill (1999: 125), who describes it in relation to other varieties of English as ‘a social dialect which is distinguished [...] by its *grammatical* forms’. Furthermore, he states that

it is the variety of English normally used in writing, especially printing; it is the variety associated with the education system in all the English-speaking countries of the world, and is therefore the variety spoken by those who are often referred to as “educated people”; and it is the variety taught to non-native learners (ibid).

Similar definitions have been offered by Stevens (1983) and by Richards, Platt and Weber (1985). But as Milroy and Milroy (1999: 19) suggest, a standard language is best understood as ‘an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent’. Thus the term ‘standard *British* English’ recognizes the role of lexis and a model of pronunciation in giving the standard its particular localized form. Thus we can recognize ‘faucet’ as a lexeme in ‘standard American English’ and ‘tap’ as belonging to ‘standard British English’. However, Byram and Fleming (1998: 8) suggest that the increasing use of English as a lingua franca raises the question about ‘which, if any, standard form of English should be the reference for learners throughout the world’.

Against the background of increasing lingua franca use, it is legitimate in analysing a coursebook, to ask not only which varieties of English are drawn on, but also to ask if the spoken and written English of L2 users is also represented - and if so, how? It is also important to ask to what extent the grammar of spoken English is represented, given that this tends to be more culturally marked than many forms of written grammar (see Prodromou 1997; Carter 1998; Cook 1998). Similarly, the framework needs to establish what lexis is taught, and what the purpose of it is. And finally, it

needs to identify which accents are used in the phonological representation of English and which accents students are encouraged to use as models – in particular the role ascribed to received pronunciation (RP). This is generally understood as a British non-regional accent with strong social class associations (Leith 1997; Holborow 1999). However, as Crystal (1995) and Jenkins (2000) point out it, RP exists in a state of constant evolution, with many educated speakers having developed a form of speaking known as ‘modified RP’ (ibid: 14) in which some regional features may be present.

What is important, in terms of the descriptive framework being advanced here, is to identify the broad range of accents drawn on in the creation of a representation of what English sounds like – rather than any detailed consideration of changes occurring within RP. In the interests of simplicity therefore, the term ‘advanced RP’ is used for those old-fashioned forms of the accent which occur in some coursebooks. All remaining British accents in which there are no predominant regional features can be categorized under the blanket term ‘RP/modified RP’ (RP/MRP) and those UK accents which are clearly localized can be categorized under ‘regional UK’ (RUK). Kachru’s (1985) idea of circles of English provides a useful way of addressing the remainder – thus the accents of inner circle countries other than the UK can be classified as ‘international inner circle’ (IIC), and all remaining accents as ‘outer/expanding circle’ (OEC). Although problems with Kachru’s model have been listed in Jenkins (2003), it does serve to underline the geographically localized nature of the phonological repertoires constructed in coursebooks. My decision to conflate the outer and the expanding circle is mainly because it is not always possible to identify accurately which circle voices belong in – often no information is provided about the speaker and also because actors voices tend to be used².

At the same time, as suggested earlier, coursebooks may be seen as examples of ‘secondary environments’ in much the same way that advertising texts are. Such environments have to be peopled, themed, and located if the commodity is to acquire

² After categorizing the accents (see chapters 4 and 5), my colleague Joanne Kenworthy, author of *Teaching English Pronunciation* (1987), listened to one unit from each coursebook and coded the accents using the same categories. There was a difference of coding of one accent (consisting of one utterance) and one accent (see Appendix 5: Unit 3; Appendix 6: Unit 2). This inter-rater reliability check represents agreement on the coding of fifty-six of out of fifty-eight voices.

an identity – so any descriptive framework advanced here will have to identify these ‘environmental’ elements. In one respect the frameworks designed by Risager (1991), Sercu (2000), and Hall (2002) are useful at this stage as they all provide for the identification of the characters who people the coursebook and the locations in which they interact. Details of the representational practices associated with each of these elements of content can then be recorded unit by unit in each coursebook on charts for subsequent analysis (see Appendices 3-6). Such an approach allows for both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the descriptive data - for example, with regard to the way in which the coursebook is peopled, the framework allows for the identification of characters according to sex, age, ethnicity and job and at the same time, for example with regard to visuals, allows for more nuanced description and analysis of the specific forms such representations take.

In addition, given the prevalence of so-called authentic texts in ELT, the sources of those texts which are reproduced in coursebooks needs to be identified if possible and, again following Risager (1991), their point of view established. Given that student responses to all texts are mediated almost exclusively through comprehension and follow-up activities, it is important to look at these and the kind of responses they seek to elicit, as these may be said to construct students in particular ways – permitting certain responses and foreclosing others. In addition, the descriptive framework needs to be sensitive, not only to those aspects of identity which comprehension activities seek to draw on, but also, to those identities which students are asked to assume in terms of the role plays and practice activities. The language classroom may be said to provide rehearsal opportunities for particular kinds of language use, where the scripts are provided by the material. But, we can ask, scripts for which roles and for which identities? Following McKay (2002), we can also ask what pragmatic (e.g. norms of politeness) and rhetorical conventions (e.g. formal and informal writing styles) are taught, given that these too are culturally marked. Byram (1997), as we saw in the previous chapter, argued that the dominant paradigm aims to produce an ersatz ‘native speaker’. Thus, the descriptive framework advanced in Table 3.2 needs to be capable of establishing the accuracy of this claim.

Elements of content	Representational repertoire
<p><i>Language systems</i></p> <p>Grammar</p> <p>Lexis</p> <p>Phonology</p>	<p>What type of syllabus does the coursebook follow? What purposes/contexts of use (if any) does this presuppose?</p> <p>Which varieties of English are represented? (British, North American etc.) Are there any representations of L2 varieties of English? How are they represented? Is the grammar of spoken English distinguished from written grammar?</p> <p>Which lexical fields are taught? What purpose does the lexis serve?</p> <p>Is there a model of pronunciation? Which aspects of pronunciation are addressed (e.g. segmental/ suprasegmental features)? Is phonological variation represented?</p> <p>What role does the accompanying artwork play with regard to the above?</p> <p>General comments</p>
<p><i>Skills content</i></p> <p>Reading</p> <p>Listening</p> <p>Speaking</p> <p>Writing</p>	<p>What topics are addressed? Who are the characters? (real/fictional, sex, age, ethnicity, job) What locations are used? Which text types are used? What is the source of texts? What is the point of view? What types of exercise are included?</p> <p>Same as for reading skill</p> <p>What topics do students talk about? What type of activities are used to practise speaking (e.g. role play)? Which aspects of pragmatics are addressed?</p> <p>Which genres are practiced (e.g. letter of complaint)? Are formal/informal registers addressed?</p> <p>What role does the accompanying artwork play with regard to the above?</p> <p>General comments</p>

Table 3.2 Descriptive framework

3.9 Coursebook sample

The sample of coursebooks for this study is based on a small selection of historical bestsellers. The reason for adopting a historical approach is that it will allow me to speculate about changes that have taken place over time in the nature of cultural content in some of the most widely disseminated British coursebooks over the last twenty-five years. That said, accurate figures for sales are difficult to obtain but it is widely recognized within the ELT industry that a number of courses have been extremely successful over a great many years – among these are the *Strategies*, *Streamline*, *Cambridge* and *Headway* courses. One publishing manager at OUP, when asked to comment on Littlejohn’s (1992) (now dated) calculation of sales of over a

hundred thousand copies a year for a successful coursebook, was prepared to comment that, while such a figure was still indicative of healthy sales, some well-known contemporary courses sold in considerably vaster quantities (personal communication, 2000). All the coursebooks in this study have been confirmed by Waterstone's as major bestsellers (personal communication, 2004), all have gone through several editions and/or printings (see below), one of them was authorized by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science for use throughout the sizeable state school sector. At the time of writing, three of them are still in print.

Coursebook	Authors	Year of publication/ publisher	Other details
Streamline English Connections	Hartley, B. & P. Viney	1979 OUP	Still in print and currently on its seventy-seventh printing.
Building Strategies (2 nd edition)	Abbs, B. & I. Freebairn	1984 Longman	First published in 1979. Authorized by Spanish Ministry of Education and Science for use in state school sector. Currently out of print.
The New Cambridge English Course 2	Swan, M. & C. Walter	1990 CUP	Still in print and currently on ninth printing
The New Edition New Headway Intermediate	Soars, J. & L. Soars	2003 OUP	First published in 1986; second edition in 1996; third edition 2003 currently on its second printing.

Table 3.3 Coursebooks analysed

ELT coursebooks are particularly formulaic, with individual publishing houses keeping a close eye on each other's successful publications with a view to attempted replication (see 5.5 for discussion of formulaic elements). Thus generations of coursebooks tend to resemble each other, not only in terms of format and methodology, but also in terms of content. A similar point has been made by Ariew (1989) about educational textbooks in general. With this in mind, as can be seen in Table 3.3, I have chosen for analysis one student's book from each of the above mentioned courses at intermediate level. The reason for choosing the intermediate level is twofold - most sales for all courses tend to be at the intermediate level (according to my OUP informant) and in some cases the intermediate coursebook was

published first, and provided the model for all subsequent books in the series (e.g. the *Headway* series). I have not included the workbooks for analysis on the grounds that it is the student's book which sets the tone for the whole course. Unlike Littlejohn (1992), who analysed between 12% and 15% of five coursebooks, I initially decided to apply my own framework to all units with the exception of revision units. However, the revision units in *Connections* also introduce new language and those in *Building Strategies* continue the storyline which runs through the coursebook. These units have therefore been included as they are integral to the material. So although the sample is small, it aims to provide a detailed picture of each coursebook, which I believe is nonetheless valid – given the conservative nature of ELT publishing.

3.10 Conclusion

I began this chapter by locating the thesis within a cultural studies epistemology and I introduced a modified version of the 'circuit of culture' as the theoretical model for the research design. I then surveyed the main analytic frameworks for describing ELT coursebook content, paying particular attention to those which were designed for the description of cultural content and I concluded that existing frameworks, although they have contributed to the design of the framework advanced here, tend to be based on too essentialized a view of culture to be used directly in this thesis. In the light of this philosophical incompatibility – particularly with regard to the a priori specification of what constitutes cultural content - I returned to the Sony Walkman study in which the identification of a 'representational repertoire' served as the basis for description. Drawing on this idea I introduced my own framework which is organized around the elements of content common to all coursebooks. In this way, it is hoped, an answer to the first research question can be provided. In the following two chapters I apply the framework to the coursebook sample.

CHAPTER 4

APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK (1)

4.1 Introduction

In the following two chapters I apply the descriptive framework to the coursebook sample. The aim is to explore the ways in which English has been made to mean in ELT coursebooks – specifically by identifying how the language itself and its users are represented, and by identifying which social identities and lifestyles are associated with the language and posited for the learner. I deal with each coursebook in the order in which the specific editions being described were published before returning to the first research question at the end of Chapter 5. In this chapter I apply the framework to *Streamline English Connections* and *Building Strategies* and in the following chapter to *The New Cambridge English Course 2* and *The New Edition New Headway Intermediate*. At this stage I do not attempt to account for the form the content takes in any depth. That part of the thesis is reserved for Chapter 7.

4.2 The Streamline English Course

From the 1970s onwards the titles of books for the teaching of English to speakers of other languages began to change – an observation also made by Littlejohn (1992). The trend was for shorter, snappier titles such as *Mainline* (Alexander 1973) and *Cutting Edge* (Cunningham & Moor 1998) - in contrast with earlier twentieth century titles such as *Essential English for Foreign Students* (Eckersley 1938), *Oxford Progressive English for Adult Learners* (Hornby 1954), both of which announce themselves more clearly as textbooks. The *Streamline English* course, which first appeared in 1978, was certainly part of this trend. The four books in the course, each with a cover design based around an image of rail travel, were entitled *Departures*, *Connections*, *Destinations* and *Directions*. The implied link between the learning the student undertook within the pages of the books and a metaphoric journey (into English and beyond) is typical of the kind of title change which began around this time (cf. *Mainline* by Alexander [1973]; *Headway* by Soars & Soars [1986]). The course title and the individual titles of the course components, with their accompanying rail

motifs, may be said to connote journeys which were efficiently planned for maximum speed and ease along carefully laid tracks.

4.2.1 *Syllabus and grammar*

Work done under the auspices of the Council of Europe during the 1970s made a considerable impact on the content of coursebooks for the teaching of English. The Threshold Level (van Ek 1975) for adult language learners and a separate version for school learners (van Ek 1976) proposed a notional/functional syllabus, semantico-grammatical categories deemed common to all European languages and situational content - based on the roles students might be expected to play, the settings in which language might be used, and the topics which students might be expected to address. Trim (in Hopkins 2001: 46-47) assessed it thus:

The impact of the Threshold Level on the teaching of English as a foreign language was immediate and very powerful. By the end of the 70s most textbooks were organized according to themes and functions and most examining bodies had made corresponding changes to their syllabuses.

That said, *Connections* was not written to enable students to meet Threshold Level requirements but it does reveal signs of the impact referred to by Trim. In fact, the index to the teacher's book shows that *Connections* has a traditional grammar syllabus – although it is comprehensively disguised in the student's book. The variety of language taught is predominately standard British English. As we shall see below, although a limited range of non-UK accents are used, there are no examples of lexis associated with other varieties of English, or examples of utterances which depart from the grammar being taught.

At the same time as underplaying the grammar syllabus, *Connections* deliberately seeks to foreground its treatment of functional English. The blurb on the back of the book states that 'units of everyday conversation have been included to underline the practical nature of the language being taught'. These units, of which there are only eleven out of a total of eighty, are differentiated from all others in the coursebook, not only in terms of linguistic content, but also through the specific modality of the accompanying artwork. With the exception of a unit on introductions and another on

advice, the functional strand is largely focused on the language of service encounters.³ In the following section I show how the artwork plays a key role in referencing this strand and contributes to its salience in the coursebook's representational repertoire. I begin by contextualizing this with an overview of the role of artwork in the coursebook as a whole.

4.2.2 *Artwork and the functional strand*

Like many coursebooks from the mid 1970s onwards (e.g. Alexander 1973; Abbs, Ayton & Freebairn 1975), *Connections* makes considerable use of a range of artwork which includes photographs, line drawings, and graphics (e.g. mock-ups of forms, letters, etc.). However, it is the extensive use of colour which immediately distinguishes it from other coursebooks published during the same period (e.g. O'Neill 1971; 1973). Thirty-nine units, out of a total of eighty are in colour. In addition to the use of colour, *Connections* features photographic artwork in thirty units, with the remaining fifty consisting largely of graphics and line drawings.



Fig 4.1 Ludic style artwork (Hartley & Viney 1979)

³ All information regarding content is extrapolated from Appendices 3-6

One of the distinguishing features of the latter is the pervasive use of a ludic style – what Hodge and Kress (1988: 130) refer to as ‘play’ – in which the represented participants are frequently depicted as brightly coloured, with minor anatomical exaggerations, often with comical names, curiously dressed, or in situations which might be deemed amusing (see Fig. 4.1 above). In addition, this artwork tends to make explicit a comic element already present or implicit in the accompanying written texts. This in turn is often reinforced by the voices on the tapes which may be exaggerated so as to sound comical (e.g. through the use of distorted delivery). In fact, the ‘comic’ dimension is one of the coursebook’s distinctive characteristics. At the same time, the overall low modality of the drawings may be said to suggest a ‘fictionality’ congruent with the contrived nature of the accompanying texts.

In contrast, photographs are used throughout to imply a different type of correspondence with the world beyond the coursebook – thus, to give one example, colour photography is used in a unit on the 1976 Montreal Olympics. We saw in Chapter 3 that, from the perspective of social semiotics, colour photography, in which the colour is neither drained nor super-saturated, is used to suggest high modality (that is as adequately standing in for what might be seen by the human eye). However, black-and-white photography is used in the eleven units of everyday conversation referred to in the blurb. Each of these has exactly the same layout – namely, three or four short dialogues which run down the left hand side of the page with corresponding artwork on the right. Altogether the artwork for this functional strand consists of forty black-and-white photographs.

It will be recalled that black-and-white images predominated in newspapers of the period, while Sunday supplements and magazines made greater use of colour. The use of colour, I would suggest, often carried a strong association with leisure and/or entertainment (although clearly this depended on the type of publication), while black-and-white more often signified seriousness and/or everydayness. The choice of black-and-white photography for specific units in *Connections* might thus be said to connote a degree of seriousness and to underline the everydayness and practicality of the language in the dialogues. If we look closely at one of these units we can see what I have termed a ‘social realist’ style of photography (see Fig. 4.2 below) in which the

represented participants have the look of ‘everyday people’ of the period engaged in largely ritualised service encounters.

A Next, please.

B I'd like to cash this cheque, please.

A Yes, madam . . . £30. Oh! You haven't signed it yet, madam.

B Haven't I? Oh, I'm terribly sorry . . . here you are.

A Thank you. How would you like the money?

B Four fives and ten ones, please.

£30 (4 × £5/10 × £1)

£50 (5 × £10)

£100 (5 × £10/10 × £5)

£20 (2 × £5/10 × £1)

C I'd like to change these francs, please.

D Yes, sir. How many francs have you got?

C 200. What's the rate of exchange, please?

D The current rates are on the notice board, sir.

francs (200)

dollars (20)

marks (50)

yen (5000)





Fig. 4.2 Social realist photography (Hartley & Viney 1979)

In social semiotic terms we can say, with regard to representational meaning, that each photograph has a narrative structure (the represented participants are shown interacting). With regard to interactive meaning, each photograph is an offer (the represented participants do not demand anything by meeting the viewer’s gaze, but instead offer information about the type of interaction); the distances are those of medium shots, and the point of view depicts the represented participants more or less at eye-level (although the action of cashing a cheque is clarified by a slightly vertical angle). Overall, the viewer is positioned for detached observation of the situation. With regard to compositional meaning, the artwork for each speech act is separately framed – thereby underlining the discrete nature of each routine and there is a left (text)/right (photograph) arrangement. The teacher’s book indicates that the text is to be masked in the initial stage of the lesson while the tape is played. In this way, any new linguistic item is heard in context and linked with the accompanying photograph before being seen in the written form. Thus the student is encouraged to draw on pre-existing linguistic knowledge (given) and the situational information contained in the artwork (new) to make sense of the new piece of language.

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A summary of all the units of everyday conversation shows similar processes at work throughout:

Representational meaning		All photographs are examples of narrative structure: 34 photographs show represented participants in face to face interaction 6 photographs show represented participants interacting by other means (or about to) e.g. by phone
Interactive meaning	contact	All examples of offer
	distance	All examples of medium shot
	point of view	Majority of shots broadly at eye level
Compositional meaning		Each speech act separately framed; left(text)/right(photograph) arrangement Salient through repetition and black-and-white photography for all units of everyday conversation

Table 4.1 Summary of photographs in everyday conversation units

Although the teacher's book shows that a total of forty-four units contain various types of fixed expressions, many are embedded in the 'interesting contexts' which the authors claim in their introduction are used to contextualize language (Hartley & Viney 1979: 5). What is different about the everyday conversation units is that they feature situations in which students visiting the UK might theoretically find themselves, and I would suggest it is for this reason that a social realist modality is used. The artwork may be said to reference a high degree of correspondence between the language found in the dialogues and that likely to occur in similar situations in the world outside the classroom – e.g. 'Next, please'; 'How would you like the money?' etc. Unlike most other dialogues in the coursebook which are typified by target structure repetition and the kind of over-explicitness often noted by commentators (e.g. Wajnryb 1996), these are designed to focus on how many setting-specific interactions rely on 'ready-made' language. In this way, by reserving a particular style of artwork for a specific type of language use, the relatively small functional strand is made salient and its 'practical nature' (referred to in the blurb) is underlined. That said, the overall comic thrust of *Connections* is such that even in these units there are occasional elements of comedy (an issue I return to in 4.2.4).

4.2.3 Lexis and phonology

All lexical items appear to have been selected on the grounds of their usefulness to practise the grammatical structure being taught in the unit or because they are considered essential for reading and listening comprehension. With regard to phonology, no specific attention is paid to segmental or suprasegmental features – although choral and individual drilling is the predominant form of all types of controlled practice. What is of note is the range of accents on the tapes and the ways in which these contribute to the representational repertoire. Table 4.2 below shows that RP/MRP is the most salient. Out of a total of seventy-one units with recordings, it features in sixty-three units.

Accent	Advanced RP	RP/modified RP	Regional UK	International inner circle	Outer/expanding circle
Exclusive occurrences: number of units	-	25	3	2	1
Co-occurrences: number of units	4	38	32	6	5
Occurrences: total number of units	4	63	35	8	6

Table 4.2 Connections: total numbers of units according to range of accents

A closer examination of how these accents are deployed reveals a number of significant features. For example, OEC accents are associated with foreign students studying in the UK, waiters, individuals working in the tourist industry abroad, and a fictional Secretary General of the UN. Significantly, in spite of phonological variation, there is no variation at the lexical or grammatical levels. The use of advanced RP is linked to the comic strand which runs throughout the coursebook and is used mainly by characters whose overall situation is represented as ‘amusing’ (e.g. a British man in Unit 40 is ignored by a foreign waiter who is more intent on talking to a female customer than bringing him a menu). IIC accents occur in settings featuring tourists from inner circle countries other than the UK and in those units which deal exclusively with US subject matter.

However, the surface variation in the representation of English does not imply equality of status for all accents. This can be detected in the distribution of RUK and RP/MRP accents with regard to speakers whose jobs are clearly identified. Although Table 4.3 shows that several speakers whose jobs are not generally regarded as being particularly high status have RP/MRP accents – thereby making the point that RP/MRP does not presuppose a high status job - it is also clear that higher status jobs *tend* to be accompanied by RP/MRP and that RUK accents are more clearly associated with blue collar employment.

Jobs in which speakers have RP/MRP	Jobs in which speakers have RP/MRP and RUK accents	Jobs in which speakers have RUK accents
All television jobs (presenters, news readers; commentators, interviewers, weatherman, 'expert'); import-export company boss; import-export company employee; interviewer and interviewee for export salesman job; interviewee for export manager's secretary; airline pilot; airport security man; airline check-in person; lawyer; tour guides; ship's captain; pharmacist; waiter; travel agents; office 'boss'; doctors; bank manager; ticket sales assistants; hairdresser; receptionists; nurses; radio presenter; trainee journalist	Shop assistants; telephone receptionists for police, fire and ambulance services/commercial enterprises; bank clerks; secretaries	Army sergeant; army recruit; chef; waitress; farmer; maid; chauffeur; mechanic; football manager; football player; fisherman; guesthouse landlady; petrol pump attendant; office workers; newspaper editor; air-sea rescue crewman; traffic warden; policemen; teacher; estate agent

Table 4.3 Connections: distribution of jobs according to RP/MRP and RUK accents

Furthermore, RP/MRP accents function as the authoritative or 'teacherly' voice of the coursebook – being used to 'frame' units by announcing the number and title of each one, to narrate those passages of text which precede or link sections of dialogue; and to narrate those units which feature a single narrative voice (exceptions are two units which deal exclusively with US subject matter). Finally, a small number of gullible and criminal characters also tend to have RUK accents. Thus RP/MRP accents may be said to occupy a privileged position in the phonological representation of English in *Connections*.

4.2.4 Reading and listening

In the following two sections I apply the framework to the receptive and productive skills texts. In *Connections* these texts are the same as those used to introduce new language points.

Threshold Level documents (van Ek 1975, 1976) suggest the following set of core topics as appropriate for students working towards a basic level of foreign language proficiency: personal identification; house and home; trade, profession, occupation; free time, entertainment; travel; relations with other people; health and welfare; education; shopping; food and drink; services; places; foreign language; and weather (ibid: 14-16). When they are used to categorize the units in the coursebook we can see that almost half fall outside the range of Threshold Level suggestions.

Topic	Personal identification	House and home	Trade, profession, occupation	Free time, entertainment	Travel	Relations with other people	Health and welfare
Number of units	1	1	7	6	9	5	1
Topic	Education	Shopping	Food and drink	Services	Places	Weather	Other
Number of units	1	5	3	5	1	1	39

Table 4.4 Connections: number of units in which Threshold Level topics are addressed

Units categorized under ‘other’ feature a range of topics which include: the ‘discovery’ of the earth by beings from another planet; a story about a serial killer; getting caught taking a day off work while pretending to be sick; natural disasters; spotting a UFO; and a ghost story. These topics, I would suggest, are precisely what is meant by the ‘interesting contexts’ for introducing new language referred to earlier (Hartley & Viney 1979: 5). Against this background of diverse topics is a correspondingly large cast of fictional and non-fictional characters. With the exception of Elvis Presley, who is the subject of an entire unit, non-fictional characters feature only in passing, and then predominantly in controlled practice activities. Reference to such characters in many cases presupposes a degree of familiarity with mostly male iconic figures in British/North American public life. Examples include: Paul McCartney, Rockefella, James Hunt, the Queen, and John F.

Kennedy. However, the majority of characters who people the pages of *Connections* are fictional and what is immediately noticeable is that they are overwhelmingly male. Table 4.5 provides a breakdown of the total numbers of male and female representations in the texts, in the artwork and on the tapes. (Artwork figures are necessarily approximate as I only counted those represented participants who were clearly visible).

Sex of represented participants	Texts	Artwork	Tapes
Male	229	245	192
Female	136	138	120

Table 4.5 Connections: numbers of male and female representations

Such disproportionate representation of women is generally understood as sexism – i.e. discrimination (in this case by omission) against women on the basis of gender. In addition, as Table 4.6 shows, men are represented as occupying a wider range of jobs/roles than those occupied by women.

Male characters	Female characters
Ship’s captain; bank worker; television ‘expert’; television news reader x 2; television sports commentators x 3; Olympic athletes x 3; television interviewer; UN Secretary General; pharmacist; butler; chauffeur; waiter x 3; astronaut; army sergeant; army recruit; emigration officer; electrician; bank clerk; tour guides x 2; sailor; students x 5; construction workers x 2; import-export company employee; businessman; job interviewer; interviewee for export salesman job; farmer; office worker x 2; pilot; security guard; rock/pop musicians x 4; racing driver; television/radio presenter; security guard; policeman x 6; journalist; football manager; football player; television presenter; customs officer; truck driver; lawyer; doctor x 4; fisherman; bank manager; petrol pump attendant; tour guide; school headmaster; teacher x 3; hairdresser; television weather man; chef; bus driver; air-sea rescue crew member; newspaper editor; singer; mayor; mayor’s secretary; assistant hotel manager; fireman; ambulance service man; teacher; shop assistant x 4; estate agent; football player; film director; film producer; writer x 2; composer; record producer; mechanic x 2; engineer; bin-man; taxi driver; detective; boxer; travel agent; tailor; supermarket manager; caliph; servant	Waitress x 2; telephone receptionist x 4; housewife x 6; Olympic athletes x 2; shop assistants x 5; maid; astronaut; bank clerk; travel agent; typists x 2; interviewee for export manager’s secretary; student x 3; airport check-in staff; television game show contestant; television game show score keeper; personal secretary; guesthouse landlady; office workers x 3; salesperson x 2; secretaries x 2; receptionist x 2; radio news reader; doctor; nurse x 2; traffic warden; television news reader; singer; documentary director; box office sales person; trainee journalist; store detective

Table 4.6 Connections: fictional characters according to jobs and sex

However, it is in the actual representation of individual women that the sexism of the coursebook becomes more apparent. This takes a variety of forms - for example, in a unit about job interviews, a male candidate is interviewed for the post of export salesman, while a female candidate is interviewed for the less important post of export manager's secretary (Unit 22)⁴. In the accompanying artwork the female candidate's application form, which is made less salient by being partly covered by the male candidate's, shows that she has a lower level of education. Women are also represented as emotional and complaining in ways that men are not. The causes are linked to unhappiness with their domestic situation or to male behaviour. Thus a housewife complains repeatedly to her husband that her life is boring (Unit 6), and a footballer's wife is angry that her husband has left her for a Swedish actress (Unit 30). Elsewhere a woman complains to her husband that he no longer talks to her and forgets her birthday (Unit 34), while another complains to her mother about her inability to cope with a constantly crying baby and the amount of housework she has to do (Unit 34). Finally, a woman complains to her friend at a social event that her husband has spent the evening dancing with other women (Unit 40). In all instances the voices on the tapes reinforce the speakers' emotional state. In two of these cases the dependency of children on women is suggested though the use of crying babies in the artwork. Fig. 4.3 below reproduces the artwork for Unit 34. The drawing does not personalize the woman to any great extent – rather, she is identified as a housewife and mother by the setting in which she is placed, the presence of the baby and the range of domestic appliances which surround her.

⁴ Given that not all the students' coursebooks referred in Chapters 4 and 5 have page numbers, I refer instead to the unit or lesson (depending on the terminology) in my referencing.



Fig. 4.3 Representation of a housewife (Hartley & Viney 1979)

Goffman (1979: 28), writing about the ways in which visual representations contribute to gender stereotyping in advertising, also suggests that when men and women are involved in the same activity the man is generally shown to assume the executive role – an observation which is borne out in several instances (e.g. Unit 3, Unit 12, Unit 49, Unit 52). At the same time, women are represented as being easily frightened – by UFOs (Unit 52) and ghost stories (Unit 62), and as fearful of gaining weight (Unit 38).

While some women complain about men, others are represented as duplicitous in their dealings with them. One woman fails to meet the man she has a date with when she receives a better offer. Later she pretends not to know who he is when he telephones to find out why she did not arrive (Unit 14). In another instance a teenage girl repeatedly lies to a man for her own amusement (Unit 42). Women are also a source of

comedy – an unmarried would-be emigrant to Australia hopes to meet the right man there, having failed to find a husband in England (Unit 17); an aristocratic young woman gets a Ferrari for her birthday and then decides to change it for one in a colour she likes (Unit 32); a pressurized waitress ignores a chef's advice and attempts to carry too many plates, which she then drops (Unit 49); and an elderly widow who happens to be a judo expert deals successfully with two muggers (Unit 54). The cumulative effect of these representations, in addition to numerical under-representation and the association of women with lower status jobs, may be said to reinforce their secondary role in the coursebook.

With regard to the age of characters, all units feature adults. Although the high incidence of low modality artwork makes it difficult to make accurate statements about the age of represented participants, it is possible to state that about a third of all units depict or refer to characters who might be described as middle-aged (more or less 40-60) or older, with the remainder featuring younger adults. Young children and teenagers are depicted or referred to infrequently. Given that the introduction to the teacher's book points out that *Connections* is aimed at 'adult and young adult' students (Hartley & Viney 1979) the characters may be said to reflect the broad age range of the target audience.

In contrast, the representation of race is more limited. Almost all represented participants are white. In fact there is only one colour photograph of a black character - an unidentified male athlete receiving an Olympic medal. A further four units represent ethnic difference through the use of low modality colour drawings. Apart from Dr Sowanso, the fictional head of the UN, who features in two units, representations of race other than white British appear mainly to have the function of signalling that the action takes place outside the UK. There are no representations of black British or British Asian characters and no representations of women who are not white. Although the notes in the teacher's book and specific units in the student's book draw attention to aspects of life in the UK (e.g. bank opening and closing times are given) there is no suggestion that Britain, where *Connections* is predominantly located, has large established ethnic minority populations.

All reading and listening texts in *Connections* are written specifically for teaching purposes. With regard to authorial point of view, Risager (1990: 188) concluded that the coursebooks in her survey tended to be 'objective' and 'to avoid expressions of attitude' towards the people and events described. Similarly, in *Connections* the predominant authorial voice used to introduce units, to provide links between sections of dialogue, and to tell stories is that of a detached observer who describes without any significant evaluation. Simpson (1993, following Fowler [1986]) refers to this as an absence of authorial modality – that is a narrative style in which categorical assertions are not accompanied by authorial comment. Point of view might thus be described as overwhelmingly 'neutral'. The exception to this is the unit on the life of Elvis Presley, which is told in largely celebratory terms (Unit 68). Elvis is introduced as a 'superstar' whose significance was such that 'radio and television programmes all over the world were interrupted to give the news of his death' (ibid). In the US it warranted a presidential statement to the effect that 'Elvis Presley changed the face of American popular culture' and that he was 'unique and irreplaceable' (ibid). The rags-to-riches treatment of the story begins with his death which is presented as the apotheosis of his career – instanced by a funeral with eighty thousand mourners, traffic jams, television and radio output dedicated to his films and music, followed by record sales of a hundred million in the year after his death. The celebratory point of view is reinforced by the overall sensory orientation of the artwork – with the text and a series of photographs from different moments in Elvis' life arranged against a salient pink background. The text, which is the longest single reading in *Connections*, is also the first instance of the extended treatment of celebrity that I have found in a coursebook from the period.

Student responses to reading and listening texts are largely restricted to comprehension questions, although, as we shall see in the following section, follow-up activities provide opportunities for specifically limited types of personal response.

Before concluding this section it is necessary to comment on the comic treatment of many of the topics in these units. At least thirty-two units include some element of comedy - the aforementioned ludic style of drawing; the use of advanced RP and other types of distorted delivery on the tapes; the assortment of characters with improbable names (e.g. the pop singer Elton Kash, Dr Sowanso); and the variety of

situations in which something unexpected or potentially embarrassing happens (e.g. a short-sighted customer at the optician's in one of the everyday conversation units attempts to leave via the window). The function of these elements is clearly to entertain both student and teacher and collectively they comprise a major part of the coursebook's approach to the subject matter. In his study deconstructing the professional discourse of TESOL, Anderson (2002: 215) suggests that 'a light fun approach' with little intellectual challenge is a feature of much ELT classroom practice. The *Connections* approach to language teaching and learning certainly resonates with this assessment.

4.2.5 Speaking and writing

All speaking activities are related to the topic of the unit in which they occur. They are of three types – personalization activities, role plays, and 'free reproduction' - where students use the pictures accompanying the text to retell the story.

Personalization activities take two forms: those which require them to speak as individuals (e.g. 'Do you like science fiction stories?': Unit 12) and those which ask them to speak as informants about uncontroversial aspects of their own country ('What's the weather like in your country at this time of the year?': Unit 48). Apart from questions related directly to the topic of the unit, students are asked to talk about their likes and dislikes, to discuss each other's possessions and the things they have bought, to discuss travel and leisure activities and to elicit such information from each other.

Role plays, generally associated with freer speaking activities in which students have some degree of control over the language they produce, occur infrequently. In fact there are only five altogether: these involve students role playing a host and guests at a social event; shopping in a chemist's; an interview with a would-be emigrant to Australia; an interview with a famous person; and ordering a meal in a restaurant. Apart from these and teacher-to-class questions of the type referred to in the previous paragraph, most oral production takes the form of teacher-led drills and substitution drill pair work for each of the speech acts in the everyday conversation units.

Specific writing activities focus on personal and formal letters, a telegram, a personal narrative, and film, book, record, and television programme reviews. The genre which receives repeated attention is the personal letter and revolves around the imitation of a series of model letters between two young people – one of whom is studying abroad and as such may be in a situation similar to that of many students using the coursebook. That said, writing receives considerably less attention than the other skills with only six units providing practice of this type. The authors make it clear in the introduction that writing is seen mainly as an opportunity for reinforcement and consolidation of grammar.

In the introduction to this chapter I stated that one of the aims in applying the framework was to identify the social identities and lifestyles associated with English and posited for the learner. It will be recalled that in my discussion of the snapshots in Chapter 1 I quoted Apple (1992: 10) to the effect that students and teachers bring their ‘classed, raced, and gendered biographies’ with them into the classroom. As Woodward (1997) argues, identities in the contemporary world derive from these and a multiplicity of other sources such as nationality, religion, sexuality, employment, parenthood, consumption, etc. From the perspective of cultural studies, identities are seen as both plural (we do not have one only) and unstable (they exist in a state of change). In learning a language then, students, like teachers, may be expected to respond to aspects of coursebook content in ways which call into play a variety of subject positions and, particularly in the case of students, engage in activities in which they may rehearse unfamiliar identities – for example, through role play.

However, the personalization activities in which students talk about their likes and dislikes, their leisure activities and uncontroversial aspects of their own country may be said to derive from a limited and circumscribed subject position determined for them by the coursebook. In spite of the case made for personalization in the introduction to the teacher’s book, students are not asked to respond to content or talk about themselves in ways which might draw on, for example, classed, raced or gendered identities. Hall (1996:4), it will be recalled, argues that identities are constructed within the representations we make of ourselves and, echoing Giddens (1991), through what he calls ‘the narrativization of the self’. Giddens (ibid: 32) has similarly referred to the ‘reflexive project’ of the self in late modernity, whereby

individual identity is located in ‘the capacity to keep a particular narrative going’ (ibid: 54) – a view also taken by Kullman (2003). It could be argued that the narrative of the self which *Connections* calls in to play is one in which class, gender and race are all but abolished. At the same time, the everyday conversation units and their focus on scripts for changing money, booking tickets, and asking for directions may be said to posit an L2 speaker identity for students which is based on a limited range of tourist-type interactions.

4.3 Summary

By way of summary we can say that the representation of English in *Connections* is based on standard British English. Variation is represented, but only at the phonological level and although no single pronunciation model is provided, RUK accents are subtly accorded lower status than RP/MRP accents through more consistent association with service/blue collar employment. One aspect of spoken English – namely the use of largely formulaic language in those speech acts which are setting-specific - is highlighted for its practicality and referenced consistently by a social realist style of black-and-white photography.

Although the coursebook is located primarily in the UK the representation is one which includes no black British or British Asian characters. Again the artwork plays an important role in constructing an almost exclusively white world as the setting for the contextualization of language. The characters used to people the coursebook are predominantly adults of all ages and they are shown to occupy a wide range of different types of employment. However, women feature less frequently than men and overwhelmingly occupy lower status jobs. Overall their representation can be described as sexist.

Against this background a limited and circumscribed range of subject positions are posited for students. Students are also construed as requiring material which is maximally entertaining - as instanced by the pervasive comedy (which operates at the phonological, lexical and situational level), the ludic style of much of the artwork, the choice of topics for language practice, and the avoidance of metalanguage. Such

practices have been understood by Anderson (2002) as being related to a view of the student as customer – an interpretation which is discussed further in Chapter 7.

4.4 The Strategies course

The *Strategies* series had its origin in a single pre-intermediate book named *Strategies* (Abbs, Ayton & Freebairn 1975) - the notional/functional material for which, the authors state, was based on work done by Wilkins for the Council of Europe Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development. In its final form the series consisted of four titles - *Opening Strategies*, *Building Strategies*, *Developing Strategies* and *Studying Strategies*. As with the *Streamline English* series the individual titles revolve around a single idea, in this case that of 'strategy' which has been defined as 'a general plan or set of plans intended to achieve something, especially over a long period' (COBUILD dictionary). Collectively the individual titles may be said to connote stages in an overall goal-oriented process.

4.4.1 Syllabus and grammar

In the teacher's book for *Building Strategies* the authors state that although the organization of the material is 'based on notional/functional categories of language the forms of English are also taught (Abbs & Freebairn 1984a: v). These, however, are not addressed in isolation as they might be in a straightforwardly structural course, but are linked instead to contexts of use. The contents page in the student's book describes the linguistic content exclusively in notional/functional terms, and corresponds closely with the Threshold level taxonomy of functions and notions (van Ek 1975:19-21). Thus students are taught how to: elicit and offer personal information; elicit and express opinions and attitudes; elicit and express likes, dislikes and preferences; make suggestions and polite requests; ask for and refuse permission (formally and informally); make and refuse invitations politely; make and accept excuses and apologies; and express agreement and disagreement. These functions are linked to vaguer notional categories such as time, location, distance and quantity

The variety of language represented is predominantly standard British English. Although a range of non-UK accents are also used, there are no instances of lexis

specific to other varieties, or examples of utterances which depart from the grammar being taught. All sixteen units use dialogues to introduce or practise new language. Although no specific attention is paid to the grammar of spoken English beyond highlighting the use of relatively fixed expressions in functional exchanges, *Building Strategies* consistently represents spoken English as different from written English, as the following extract illustrates:

- Paul: What do you do?
Rod: Work. Down at Western Aeronautics. I'm an electrical engineer. I come from Canada. Came over a few weeks ago. What about you?
What do you do?
Paul: I'm studying, actually, at the Poly, Polytechnic. Naval engineering and maths. It's OK.
Rod: Sounds interesting. Look, why don't you come round and see the flat?
...
Paul: Yes, er – may I come round and see it straightaway – like, now, this morning? (Unit 5).

Here we see an attempt to represent many of the features often found in conversation between 'native speakers' e.g. pervasive ellipsis (Work; Came over a few weeks ago; Sounds interesting; etc); reformulation (Poly, Polytechnic); and hesitation (Yes, er). Significantly, although such features are represented, the accompanying tasks do not draw students' attention to them. The overall aim, it would appear, is to sensitize students indirectly to aspects of 'native speaker' production while focusing on the use of functional exponents and appropriate replies as the goal of student production.

4.4.2 Lexis and phonology

The teacher's book explains that lexical selection is based on three criteria: words with high frequency value; words which can be linked to the topics of the units; and 'words which are abstract but useful in any discussion of day-to-day life and current affairs, e.g. *career, tax, redundant, politician, election* and so on' (Abbs & Freebairn 1984a: vi). These examples can be seen as an indication of compatibility with Threshold Level aims to 'enable the learner to cross the threshold into the foreign-language community' (van Ek 1975: 10) – that is, to go beyond the survival level of language a tourist might require.

With regard to phonology, the introduction to the teacher's book points out that the various types of oral exercises provide consolidation not only of the functions, structures, and lexis covered in the unit but 'also give consistent practice in pronunciation, stress and intonation' (Abbs & Freebairn 1984a: xi). However, no attention is paid to segmental or suprasegmental features apart from drilling.

Table 4.7 illustrates the distribution of accents across the units and shows that RP/MRP predominates. In fact, it occurs in all units with recorded material and also predominates *within* each unit. The main RUK accent is west country (the coursebook is set in Bristol), although there are also some examples of other regional accents. IIC accents are from Canada and the US. Those accents categorised under OEC feature speakers from Jamaica and India, as well as speakers who are identified as language learners or appear to speak English as an additional language.

Accent	RP/modified RP	Regional UK	International inner circle	Outer/expanding circle
Exclusive occurrences: number of units	-	-	-	-
Co-occurrences: number of units	15	8	9	7
Occurrences: total number of units	15	8	9	7

Table 4.7 Building Strategies: total numbers of units according to range of accents

RP/MRP is used to frame all units, to introduce listening texts and for interviewers' voices in those texts which take the form of interviews. However, because *Building Strategies* revolves around the lives of a set of core characters, one of whom is Canadian and several of whom have RUK accents, other accents play an important role in the representation of spoken English. This happens in two ways – firstly, core characters occur in those dialogues which are used to introduce or practise new language, and secondly, several of these dialogues have an additional recording which is paused for use in drilling. Thus students are not only exposed to a range of 'native speaker' accents, they are also encouraged to treat them equally as models for imitation. In addition, as Table 4.8 shows, RUK accents are not so clearly associated with what might be seen as lower status jobs. The production manager, who is one of

the core characters, the radio announcer and the engineer listed below all have RUK accents, as does a further core character, who is a naval engineering student.

Jobs in which speakers have RP/MRP accents	Jobs in which speakers have RUK accents
Shoe shop manageress (sic); supermarket cashier; secretaries; physicist; journalist; folk singer; radio DJ; radio announcers; radio interviewer; radio game show compere; doctor; policewoman; racing driver; novelist	Production manager for electrical components company; policemen; radio announcer; engineer; shop assistants; secretary

Table 4.8 Building Strategies: distribution of jobs according to RP/MRP and RUK accents

OEC accents correspond to a diverse set of high-achieving fictional characters composed of students, an Olympic athlete, a computer programmer, an agricultural botanist, and a virus specialist (as well as other characters whose jobs are not stated). That said, phonological variation does not involve any departure from the grammar being taught.

4.4.3 Reading and listening

In the following sections the framework is applied to the material for developing receptive and productive skills. The short reading and listening texts used to introduce new language are also included here.

Most reading and listening texts appear to have been produced for pedagogic purposes although some of the listening texts are unscripted so as to sound less artificial and the blurb on the back of the student's book points out that 'a number of contemporary edited texts' have been included for the development of reading. However, it is not made clear what kind of editing took place or which texts are referred to. As suggested above, the topics used to contextualize language relate closely to the Threshold Level list. Table 4.9 below lists the Threshold Level topics and the number of units in which they are addressed. Furthermore, Appendix 4 shows that all topics, with the exception of education, occur in *Building Strategies* and that it is not uncommon for a single unit to have more than one topic.

Topic	Personal identification	House and home	Trade, profession, occupation	Free time, entertainment	Travel	Relations with other people	Health and welfare
Number of units	6	3	8	2	7	3	1
Topic	Shopping	Food and drink	Services	Places	Foreign language	Weather	Other
Number of units	3	2	2	4	1	1	-

Table 4.9 Building Strategies: number of units in which Threshold Level topics are addressed

It is clear that the topics which receive most attention are ‘trade, profession, occupation’, ‘travel’ and ‘personal identification’. However, there is considerable overlap in the treatment of these and work, travel and the exchange of information about the self are closely linked throughout the coursebook. Against this background is a set of fictional core characters some of whom appear in each unit, and a number of non-fictional characters who generally, with some exceptions, are mentioned only in passing. Given their centrality to the coursebook as a whole, I shall discuss the fictional characters first.

The two central characters are Rod Nelson and Barbara Cooper. The former is a young electrical engineer from Canada who has recently arrived in Bristol. He is the first character about whom students are given any information and his centrality is signalled by the artwork. The first page of Unit 1 features only the title – ‘A new start’ - and a full-page colour photograph in which he is shown beginning his train journey to Bristol. Barbara is the manageress (sic) of a Bristol shoe shop, who becomes romantically involved with Rod. She is introduced on the facing page in a short written profile alongside a similar one about Rod. The accompanying artwork, reproduced in Fig. 4.4 below, links them together. The use of close-ups and the way in which each represented participant meets the student-viewer’s gaze is indicative of a personalized and direct mode of address. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest, this kind of demand, made here by attractive young people, is suggestive of social affinity. Rod and Barbara are characters with whom learners may identify – the frontality of the images facilitates maximum viewer involvement and, as we shall see, much of what happens in the units which follow is presented from the perspective of one or both of these characters.

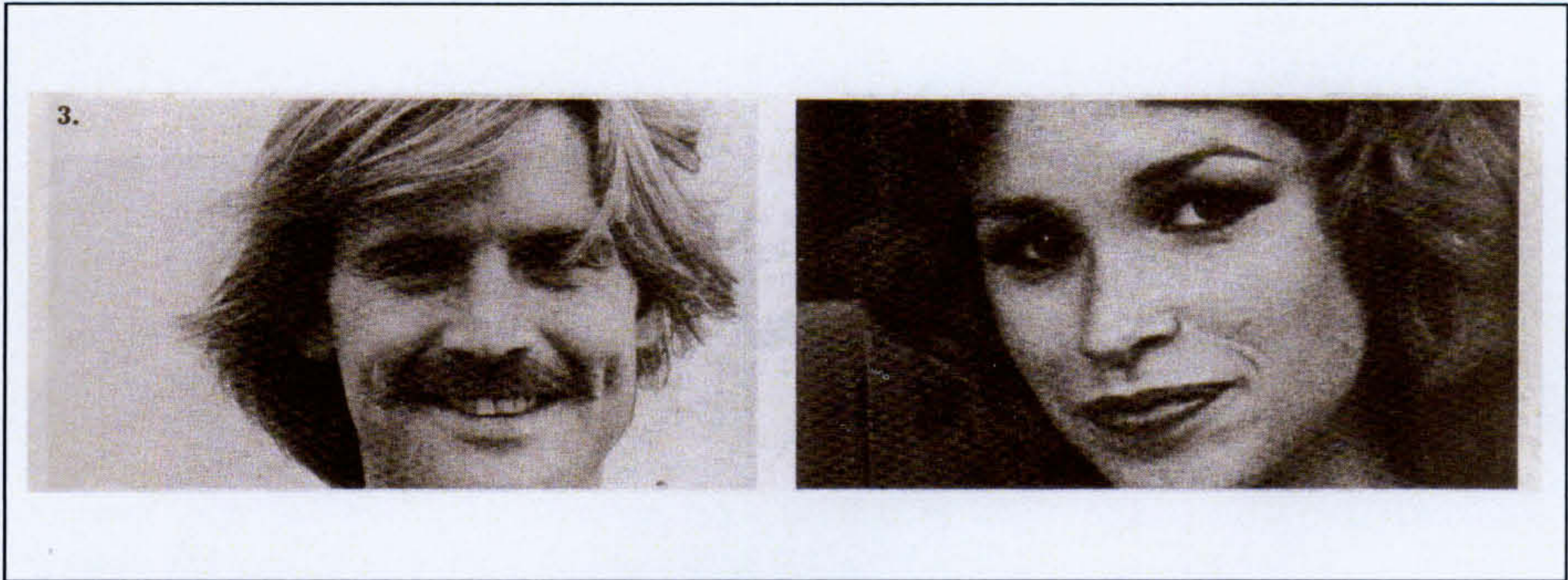


Fig. 4.4 Introduction to Rod and Barbara (Abbs & Freebairn 1984b)

Additional core characters are Barbara’s parents, Peggy and Jack; Rod’s flatmate, Paul Blake; and the couple they rent a flat from, Joan and Norman Ingrams. All have jobs – except Paul who studies naval engineering at the local polytechnic. Jack and Norman have white collar jobs, while Peggy is a supermarket cashier and Joan is a part-time secretary. All are white and from different parts of the Anglophone world – Britain, New Zealand and Canada. The student’s book informs us that Rod, Barbara and Paul are in their twenties, the Ingrams are in their thirties, and the Coopers are about fifty, all of which would suggest the coursebook is aimed at an adult audience.

What is immediately noticeable about the characterization of the fictional characters is the representation of women. Table 4.10 provides a breakdown of the total numbers of male and female representations in the texts, the artwork and the tapes.

Sex of represented participants	Texts	Artwork	Tapes
Male	198	115	82
Female	203	114	85

Table 4.10 Building Strategies: numbers of male and female representations

These figures suggest an egalitarianism in the approach to the representation of women and men – in fact overall representations of women slightly outnumber those of men. Furthermore, as Table 4.11 shows, although men are represented as having a wider range of jobs, women do occupy a range of responsible positions.

Male characters	Female characters
Electrical engineer; production manager; accountant; sea captain; farmer; journalist x 3; travel guide; shop assistant; radio announcer x 2; engineer; carpenter; librarian; teacher; agricultural botanist; physicist; headmaster; managing director; policeman x 2; patrolman; railway engineer; customs officer; boxer; driver; racing driver; novelist; radio game show compere; diplomat; radio journalist; fashion designer; model x 3	Shoe shop manageress (sic); supermarket cashier; part-time secretary; radio reporter; typist/clerk; shop assistant; radio announcer x 2; computer programmer; hotelier; secretary; doctor; doctor/researcher; personnel director; writer x 2; teacher; policewoman 2; shop owner; folk singer; gymnastics teacher; film star; news reader; model x 3

Table 4.11 Building Strategies: fictional characters according to jobs and sex

However, it is only when we look at actual instances that the nature and extent of this becomes apparent. Barbara plays an important role in the way women are represented in *Building Strategies*. From the start she is represented as both independent (she has a flat of her own) and successful (she manages a shoe shop). She initiates the friendship with Rod by inviting him to visit her shop (Unit 2) and she is shown to telephone him to suggest social activities (Unit 8). Her independence with regard to relationships is underlined by her mother's comments in a letter:

She's got a new boyfriend who works at Western with Jack. He's very nice – Canadian - but I don't think it's a very serious relationship. You know what Barbara is like. She has never been keen to settle down (Unit 10).

What is significant about this comment is the way in which it represents Barbara as making decisions on such matters on her own terms. Although the relationship is maintained throughout the coursebook, the focus is primarily on Barbara as a working woman with a busy and exciting life. A mock-up of a magazine article in which she is profiled as 'Bristol Business Personality' of the month (Unit 9) refers to her as 'Ms' – then the relatively new title for women who were not defined in terms of their marital status. Interviewed in her flat on the 'sixth floor of a brand new apartment block with a view of the River Avon' (ibid), Barbara refers to herself as 'a professional person' and is described evaluatively as a 'remarkable success'. In the accompanying artwork, reproduced in Fig. 4.5, her smiling gaze is addressed directly at the student-viewer and again is suggestive of social affinity. At the same time, the lack of frontality in Barbara's pose displaces the viewer figuratively to the side. The image can be seen as essentially aspirational – on the one hand, students are encouraged to feel affinity

while on the other, her independence, professional success, and lifestyle may yet be beyond their reach.

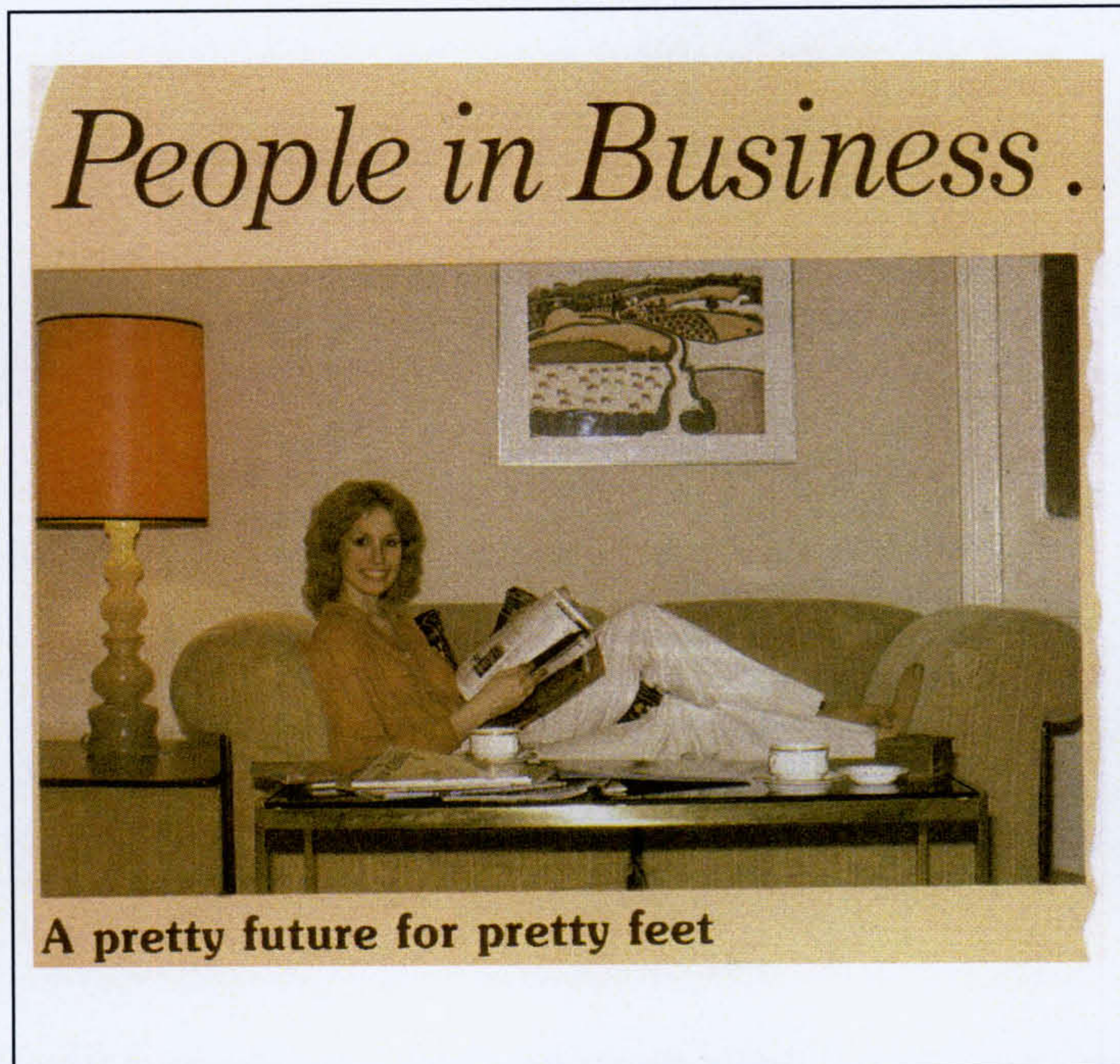


Fig. 4.5 Business Personality of the month (Abbs & Freebairn 1984b)

Other fictional female characters with less central roles contribute to this type of representation of women as professionally successful. These include two champion swimmers (Unit 3), a computer programmer (Unit 7), two doctors - one of whom is a researcher into viruses (Unit 10), two writers - one of whom writes romantic fiction featuring a businesswoman (Unit 12, Unit 14) and a famous folk singer (Unit 14).

Of all the representations of fictional working women in the coursebook, the latter might be described as the most overtly ideological. The following exchange takes place at the end of an interview in which Laura Dennison, a Los Angeles-based folk singer, has been talking about her career to a male journalist after a performance in her native Bristol:

Mike: And now you're a world famous star, a composer and a mother. How do you manage to do it?

Laura: Do what?

Mike: Combine a career with a family?

Laura: Are you married with a family, Mr Sanders?

Mike: Yes, but ...

Laura: Well, do you find it difficult to be a journalist *and* a father?

Mike: But ...

Laura: Think about it, Mr Sanders. Goodbye! (Unit 14).

The exchange is significant because it goes beyond the type of representation referred to above in which women are shown to be generally independent and successful.

What we see here is a direct challenge by a female speaker to the sexist assumption that having a successful career and being a mother might be incompatible or at least present difficulties. The exchange *is* a representation of an independent and successful woman but it is also a representation of the ideological challenge which feminism poses for a worldview in which such sexist assumptions are seen as commonsensical. Interestingly, the comprehension questions which accompany the text make no reference to this aspect of the content but refer exclusively to the singer's biographical details. Thus the comprehension questions may be said to limit the range of possible student responses. This is particularly noticeable here because the ideological aspect of the text is so clearly foregrounded. Reasons as to why this is the case are explored in Chapter 7.

At the same time the representation of men, particularly with regard to housework and the rearing of children, is also suggestive of an egalitarian approach to representation. For example, Rod and Paul are shown preparing a meal (Unit 7), a male interviewee in a listening text lists 'washing up' as one of his recent activities (Unit 13), and a controlled practice activity is accompanied by artwork showing a series of men, one of whom is wearing an apron, putting children to bed, cooking, hoovering, and reading aloud to small children (Unit 8).

Dendrinis (1992) argues persuasively that the representation of Rod is consistent with an ideology of white-collar individualism. The biographical information given in Unit 2 takes the form of a newspaper article and purports to be part of a weekly series about people making a new start in life. The profile of Rod – in many ways similar to that of Barbara – portrays an individual completely in charge of his life who relocated to Bristol because he was bored and wanted adventure. Such new starts are presented as normal and unproblematic throughout the coursebook: the Ingrams relocated to the UK from New Zealand; Laura Dennison and her family moved to Los Angeles; Jack

decides to apply for work relocation to the south of France as industrial action looms in Bristol; Paul also hopes to get a job abroad when he finishes his degree; and Barbara moves to Canada in the final unit, having become engaged to Rod.

A similar move towards equality in the representation of gender is suggested by the non-fictional characters referred to in the material. These include Prince Charles, Princess Diana, Mrs Thatcher, Queen Christina of Sweden, El Greco, Napoleon, Captain Cook, Amy Johnson and female band Bananarama. Three units also contain longer reading texts devoted exclusively to non-fictional characters – both male and female. These are the Olympic ice skating champions Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean, Elvis Presley and Winnie Mandela. In the case of Torvill and Dean, the point of view is celebratory of their dedication, talent, and individual determination – they are evaluated positively as ‘the perfect pair’, who achieve ‘unbelievably brilliant’ competition scores and who have foregone having children and the acquisition of material comforts ‘to do something different, to achieve something special’ (Unit 3). Elvis Presley too is celebrated -although somewhat differently - in the words of his detractors as ‘the most dangerous thing to hit civilisation since the atom bomb’ (Unit 14). Yet the text credits him with helping to change the attitudes of the older generation – although what these attitudes were is not explained. Both texts celebrate individualism and are accompanied by sensory orientation artwork. However, the reading about Winnie Mandela is different from these in a number of ways. Firstly, as Fig. 4.6 below shows, the artwork connotes seriousness through the use of black-and-white photography and the way in which the text appears to have been torn from a newspaper or magazine - thereby adding to a sense of the topicality of the subject matter.



Fig. 4.6 Profile of Winnie Mandela (Abbs & Freebairn 1984b)

Furthermore, the text is about a female political figure actively engaged in the struggle against a political system which was still in place at the time the coursebook was published. The text represents her positively as ‘one of the heroines of the black activist movement’, ‘a founder member of Soweto’s Black Parents Association’, and as someone who speaks out ‘tirelessly and fearlessly for justice’. Authorial point of view is also clear in its attitude towards the South African authorities who ‘have imprisoned her’, ‘stopped her from travelling’, ‘kept her in her home’, ‘searched and constantly harassed her’, banished her’, ‘forced her to live in the Orange Free State’, and ‘punished her’. The text makes it clear that the reasons for this treatment are not those offered by the authorities:

She has suffered all these things because the police say that she has broken the law. But in reality, they have punished her because she has become, like her husband, a leader of the black nationalist movement (Unit 14).

Although the text is about a well-known figure’s political struggle against an oppressive regime, as with the Laura Dennison interview, the comprehension activities do not address this aspect of content and focus instead on checking understanding of facts.

With regard to representations of race more generally in the coursebook, clearly identifiable black and Asian characters occur in a further seven units. In some cases it is simply a case of being included in artwork – for example, colour drawings feature black and Asian characters engaged in a variety of domestic activities (Unit 3 and Unit 8); a listening exercise about three athletes is accompanied by a black-and-white photograph of an unidentified black male runner (Unit 3); and at least two of the six models in a fashion show are black and Asian (Unit 16). Extended listening activities feature speakers from Jamaica, India, and Japan talking about their impressions (not always favourable) of English food, weather and people (Units 2 and 12). Two short controlled practice texts feature photographs of Maria, a black student from an unnamed country, and give details of her likes and dislikes and her (generally favourable) opinions of Britain (Unit 2). In addition, there are also two black British characters, both of whom feature in photographic artwork – Barbara’s friend Ruth who calls to visit her one day after work (Unit 5) and Terry (mentioned only in passing) who attended the same school when they were children (Unit 10). The teacher’s book points out that *Building Strategies* aims to ‘give a picture of a real community in Britain, and some cultural information about Britain in general’ (Abbs & Freebairn 1984a:v). So although all the core characters are white, *Building Strategies* could be said to construct a picture of Britain – mainly at the level of artwork – in which an element of racial diversity forms part of the backdrop.

4.4.4 Speaking and writing

Given the focus on functional language it is not surprising that considerable emphasis is placed on various types of speaking activities. These consist of dialogue repetition, controlled practice pair work (e.g. students rehearse functional exchanges with appropriate responses), drills, role plays and discussions. Role plays are of two types – the majority are those in which students play themselves and a smaller number in which they assume the role of one of the core characters or a character referred to in the coursebook. The teacher’s book points out that these are designed to enable the students to integrate the language learnt in the more controlled activities into extended speaking. Altogether there are twenty role plays and five discussions, all of which relate to unit topics. Two role plays involve students playing Rod, another involves students playing the parts of Barbara and her largely professional group of friends

from school talking about where they live, their job, and their ‘news’, and a third involves the same group being interviewed for the local paper. Students are also asked to imagine themselves as either Torvill or Dean telephoning their parents to tell them of their success in the Helsinki Olympics, as a successful detective story writer, and an Olympic boxer. Individual professional success is a key factor in the majority of these roles, as is personal mobility – none of Barbara’s friends lives in Bristol any longer and the Olympic boxer is about to leave Britain for a new life in Spain. Even in role plays where students play themselves mobility of various types is a key factor – so students talk about holiday plans, apologize for not have written or telephoned while they were travelling, arrange to meet at the airport, and discuss moving abroad after being made redundant.

As with speaking activities, all writing activities relate to the unit topics and language points – thus students write letters of invitation, acceptance, and refusal, in addition to descriptive pieces and narratives. At the same time, congruent with the Threshold Level aims to prepare students for more than tourist interactions, *Building Strategies* introduces a wide range of language functions along with information on formal and informal registers and ways of expressing politeness. However, subject positions in which students’ gendered, raced and classed biographies are called into play are largely ignored – something which is particularly noticeable in the tasks accompanying the texts on Laura Dennison and Winnie Mandela, both of which have ideologically and politically foregrounded content.

4.5 Summary

To conclude this section, we can say that the representation of English found in *Building Strategies* is based on standard British English. There is some, albeit limited and indirect, representation of the differences between spoken and written English, although students do not have their attention drawn to this. A range of ‘native speaker’ accents – other than RP/MRP - are viewed as models for imitation. Furthermore, several educated and successful core characters are represented as having RUK accents. OEC accents, which feature in almost half the units, correspond to a group of high-achieving characters.

The main core characters are young and students are encouraged to identify with them – a process in which the artwork plays a significant role. Overall the representation of men and women may be said to reveal the impact of the discourse of feminism.

Women, through their numerical presence in the coursebook and more particularly through the representation of Barbara, are shown as independent and professionally successful, while men, mainly in the artwork, are shown as playing an active part in rearing children and doing housework. However, the Laura Dennison interview underlines the fact that the challenge of feminism meets with resistance in the form of commonsensical sexist attitudes, although - significantly - discussion of this is foreclosed by the accompanying task. Despite representation of black and Asian characters, all core characters are white. However, two black characters are identified as British and one is referred to as ‘a good friend of Barbara’s’ (Unit 5). In general, the content is overwhelmingly serious – and at times overtly political, as in the case of the reading about Winnie Mandela - but the focus overall is on the core characters who are shown to have fulfilling jobs and to lead enjoyable active lives in which opportunities for travel are commonplace.

In terms of identity, students are actively encouraged to identify with specific characters. The use of demand photographs in which Rod and Barbara meet the gaze of the student-viewer, their general attractiveness, youthfulness, independence and success, the unfolding narrative of their relationship (about which students are invited to speculate), and the fact that students are asked to assume their identities on occasion in role plays and dialogues may be said to constitute what Althusser (1971) refers to as ‘interpellation’ – a hailing, in this case, to both the ideological and subject position of white-collar individualism in which success, mobility and personal satisfaction appear as unproblematic givens – and, it should not be forgotten, are simultaneously associated with the learning of English.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have applied the descriptive framework to the first two coursebooks and, as stated earlier, I have refrained for the moment from attempting to account for the form the individual representational repertoires take. In Chapter 5 I apply the framework to the remaining two coursebooks and then discuss the ways in which

content has changed over time - specifically with regard to representation and identity,
before returning to the first research question.

CHAPTER 5

APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK (2)

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I conclude the analysis of the coursebooks by applying the framework to *The New Cambridge English Course 2* and *The New Edition New Headway Intermediate*. In line with the format of the previous chapter, I deal with each coursebook in the order in which the specific editions being described were published. The chapter ends with a return to the first research question: ‘What form has cultural content taken in ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain since the 1970s?’ and a discussion of the changes which have been observed to occur from the late seventies until the present.

5.2 The New Cambridge English course

The New Cambridge English Course 2 (1990) (hereafter *Cambridge English 2*) is the second in a four-book course. Unlike the other courses referred to, the title does not revolve around a single unifying metaphor but relies instead on the connotative power of the word ‘Cambridge’ to establish its identity. This is made salient on the front and back cover of each book through capitalization of the entire word and the use of larger font than that used for all other words in the title or in the blurb. Through association with the name of a prestigious university and a set of globally recognized (at least within the world of ELT) English language examinations (e.g. Cambridge First Certificate) and English language teaching qualifications (e.g. Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults), the title may be said to suggest a high level of symbolic educational value. A similar conclusion is reached by Littlejohn (1992), who noted that coursebooks produced by publishing houses other than Cambridge University Press to prepare students for the Cambridge First Certificate examination often featured the word ‘Cambridge’ more saliently than the name of the actual publisher.

5.2.1 *Syllabus and grammar*

The introduction to the teacher's book claims that a 'complete English language course will incorporate at least eight main syllabuses' (Swan & Walter 1990a: V111). These are listed as: vocabulary; grammar; pronunciation; notions; functions; situations; topics; and skills. The introduction makes much of the fact that 'real-life' (ibid: IX) recordings have been included so that students are exposed to 'natural speech (in a variety of accents)' (ibid). These recordings contain many of the features associated with spoken English (e.g. hesitation, reformulation), as indeed do many of the scripted dialogues and monologues. Furthermore, some of the differences between written and spoken English are explicitly addressed. For example, Lesson 2 presents students with a list of discourse markers and fillers (explained in the teacher's notes as typical of spoken English) and asks them to identify which occur in a series of taped dialogues.⁵ Lesson 8 focuses on ellipsis and the chunking of subordinate or coordinate clauses, as exemplified in the following extract:

Lorna:	And then Janet turned up. As usual. Just when I was trying to finish some work.
George:	So what did you do?
Lorna:	Had lunch with her.
George:	Where did you go? Somewhere nice?
Lorna:	No. Just the pub around the corner. A pie and a pint, you know.

The teacher's book points out that students are not required to reproduce such features, but that they should be able to recognize them in the speech of others. In this instance students are simply asked to identify all examples of ellipsis in the dialogue.

The authors also make it clear in the introduction that the variety of language taught is British English, with some additional illustration of other varieties – although this is only at the phonological level. They also state that the course

presupposes a European-type educational background, but with some adaptation it can be used successfully with learners from other cultural backgrounds (ibid: V111).

⁵ Individual units in Cambridge English 2 are referred to as lessons

Although it is not made clear what this means, it would appear to refer to the assumed degree of familiarity with iconic American and European cultural figures mentioned in the units and the inclusion of some ‘riskier’ speaking activities – I return to these points below. The putative student is also identified as someone who is learning the language for ‘general practical or cultural purposes’ (ibid). The index of structures, notions, functions and situational language at the back of the book shows that the syllabus corresponds closely with van Ek (1975) - in fact the introduction states clearly that the coursebook aims to prepare students ‘to understand and produce English well enough to handle a variety of everyday situations and topics with relative ease (around the level of the Council of Europe’s ‘Threshold’ level)’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: V111).

5.2.2 *Lexis and phonology*

As might be expected, given the claims made for the multi-syllabus approach, both lexis and phonology receive detailed treatment. The authors state that more than nine hundred new words and expressions have been included and that these contribute to a core vocabulary of common and useful words, which is systematically taught. Just how this core was established is not stated but the treatment of lexis is systematic – individual units introduce topic-related lexical sets and each unit concludes with a list of items to be learnt or revised. This includes individual lexemes, various types of chunks (e.g. Lesson 1: I’d like to introduce ...; so much) and complete expressions (e.g. Lesson 1: I didn’t catch your name) related to the situational and functional syllabuses. Furthermore, revision and test sections also have discrete vocabulary sections. Finally, a vocabulary index at the back of the book lists all items again along with phonetic transcriptions.

Phonology receives similarly detailed attention, and across the units – including revision and test sections - students have their attention drawn to a wide range of features. These include: individual sounds; distinctions between pairs of sounds; weak forms; word and sentence stress; contractions; rhythm; intonation; the range of sounds corresponding to different letters of the alphabet; and the use of phonetic script. In general, pronunciation work is linked to the grammatical or lexical syllabuses so that,

for example, Lesson 7 on past tenses includes a focus on the pronunciation of *–ed* endings.

The emphasis throughout is predominantly on recognition rather than production - a point which is foregrounded in the introduction. The authors state that, in addition to being comprehensible, students must be able to understand people ‘with different accents speaking in natural conditions (not just actors speaking standard English in recording studios’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: 63). What is interesting about this is the implicit association between ‘standard English’ and accent – a point which is reinforced in notes to the teacher throughout the coursebook, particularly with regard to certain RP sounds. For example, the notes corresponding to Lesson 19 refer to the RP vowel sound in words such as ‘know’ and ‘so’ as ‘standard British’ (ibid: 63), adding

If students find the sound difficult, or are unwilling to make it, tell them that it is not very important for comprehensibility, and that in any case it is not used by many native English speakers except for speakers of standard British English.

The association of ‘standard British English’ with the RP accent is common in many ELT materials. The phonetic symbols used in *Cambridge English 2* (and indeed the dictionaries produced by the ELT industry) are a selection of IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols used for the transcription of the RP accent only. That said, a degree of phonological variation is included on the coursebook tapes. RP/MRP is used to frame all units and functions as the authoritative voice of the coursebook. Table 5.1 below shows that RP/MRP is also the most salient in the coursebook, featuring exclusively in sixteen units (out of a total of thirty-six) and co-occurring with a range of other accents in a further seventeen. IIC accents, which are exclusively North American, feature in almost as many units as RUK accents, while OEC accents occur in only two units – and represent a total of two separate utterances.

Accent	RP/modified RP	Regional UK	International inner circle	Outer/expanding circle
Exclusive occurrences: number of units	16	-	-	-
Co-occurrences: number of units	17	13	11	2
Occurrences: total number of units	33	13	11	2

Table 5. 1 Cambridge English 2: total numbers of units according to range of accents

Table 5.2 shows that while RP/MRP does not necessarily imply a high status job, speakers in white collar employment tend not to have RUK accents.

Jobs in which speakers have RP/MRP accents	Jobs in which speakers have RP/MRP and RUK accents	Jobs in which speakers have RUK accents
Professor; doctor; taxi driver; BBC sports commentator; TV news reader; explorer; 'bosses'; switchboard operator; waiters; airline check-in clerk; hotel receptionist; travel agent; railway employee; policewoman	Shop assistants	Dentist/dental receptionist; petrol pump attendant; doctor's secretary; commercial traveller; van driver

Table 5. 2 Cambridge English 2: distribution of jobs according to RP/MRP and RUK accents

Furthermore, RUK accents are also used for criminal and gullible characters – for example, in Lesson 27 Cockney van driver Frederick George Smith introduces himself as Frederick Getty Onassis to the easily impressed Janet Parker, a more Estuary-sounding shop assistant. Under the impression that he is a celebrity photographer, Janet is lured to a photographic studio and escapes an unspecified fate when the rightful owner of the studio appears.

North American accents, on the other hand, are used mainly in pronunciation exercises and randomly for three attendees at a conference (Lesson 1), an unidentified shopper (Lesson 11), an explorer (Lesson 20), and an airline steward (Lesson 35), while OEC accents are used by a conference attendee (Lesson 1) and a speaker hailing a taxi (Lesson 35). In one unit North American pronunciation is deliberately contrasted with 'northern English' and 'standard southern British' pronunciation (Unit x). Thus, we can say that despite an attempt to raise awareness about varieties of British and American accents, overall, RP/MRP occupies a privileged position in the phonological representation of English.

5.2.3 Reading and listening

All units contain reading, listening, speaking and writing activities and most grammar/functional points are introduced through reading or listening texts. Some of the latter are accompanied by recordings which are described as ‘authentic’ and ‘real-life’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: 1X) – i.e. they are unscripted and not spoken by actors. However, the majority of such ‘authentic’ texts are reserved for revision and test sections.

As can be seen from Table 5.3 below, nine of the fifteen Threshold Level topics occur – with ‘travel’ recurring most frequently. Appendix 5 shows that it is not uncommon for a unit to incorporate several topics.

Topic	Personal identification	Trade, profession, occupation	Free time, entertainment	Travel	Relations with other people
Number of units	1	3	2	7	2
Topic	Shopping	Food and drink	Services	Places	Other
Number of units	3	1	1	3	23

Table 5. 3 Cambridge English 2: Number of units in which Threshold Level topics are addressed

However, it is clear that the majority of units address topics other than those suggested by van Ek (1975). In the introduction the authors point out that in addition to topics of general interest, the ‘coursebook should include some controversial and emotionally engaging material, rather than sticking to bland middle-of-the-road topics’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: V111). They advise teachers not to ‘drop a topic because it makes people angry’, adding that ‘rage can get people talking!’ (ibid: 1X). Topics listed under ‘other’ include: how indigenous people live; alien abduction; genetics and eye colour; surviving plane crashes; superstitions; ‘tall’ tales; how paper is made; and facts about famous people. Although some of these are treated lightly, the tone overall is serious and several topics would not be out of place in a geography or science textbook (e.g. the material on indigenous peoples). Such an approach is in line with the authors’ view that ELT material, in addition to including content which

is fictional and which draws on personal experience, should also include fact and allow for impersonal discussion.

There is also no storyline in *Cambridge English 2* – so characters are not developed and tend to occur in only one unit. Given the remarks made in the introduction about the material being geared towards students with a European-type educational background, it may be assumed that such references have been chosen with potential schematic knowledge in mind. In fact, the notes to the teacher suggest that if the famous people who form the basis for many of the activities in Lesson 26 are unfamiliar, they can be replaced with more familiar characters. These comprise mainly historical figures, artists, inventors and explorers, rather than celebrity-type figures – e.g. Queen Elizabeth 1, Marconi, Louis Armstrong, Margaret Mitchell, Cervantes, J. F. Kennedy, Charlotte Bronte, and Pierre and Marie Curie. Altogether, these elements combine to give the coursebook something of ‘educational’ flavour in places.

In terms of representations of age, it is perhaps no surprise, given its overall adult orientation, that most units revolve around the activities of young and middle-aged adults. What is interesting about the non-fictional characters referred to is that they are predominantly male. Indeed, as Table 5.4 shows, the majority of the represented participants throughout the coursebook are male.

Sex of represented participants	Texts	Tasks	Tapes	Artwork
Male	76	54	171	260
Female	47	48	133	165

Table 5.4 Cambridge English 2: numbers of male and female representations

However, the actual representations of women and men show that the influence of feminism is more pervasive than these figures might suggest. Women are represented or referred to consistently as professionals or as occupying positions of power in the workplace. Thus, students practise a jigsaw dialogue in which a character at a conference is told that his sister is ‘a fine doctor’ (Lesson 1). Businesswoman Lorna arrives home from work and tells partner George about her busy day at the office (Lesson 8). Mrs Rask, president of the fictional country Fantasia, is also a

‘distinguished physicist’ and ‘former Olympic athlete who won a silver medal for the high jump’ (Lesson 14). The changing role of women is suggested in the statistics provided about Fantasia. These show that the average number of children per family has fallen from 4.5 in 1900 to a current figure of 2 and that the percentage of women in paid employment has risen from 18% to 79% over the same period (Lesson 14). Elsewhere, Barbara, who is good at tennis, swimming and dancing, is also identified as a university physics lecturer (Lesson 19). And finally, in a number of short texts, women are referred to as bosses (Lesson 22).

Women are also represented in less traditional roles: e.g. leader of an assault course for members of a youth club (Lesson 3); taxi driver (Lesson 13); explorer and pilot (Lesson 20); and, in the domestic sphere, painting and decorating (Lesson 30). They are also shown to be brave and determined. Thus, seventeen-year-old Juliana Koepke, sole survivor of a plane crash in which her own mother dies, makes her way out of a jungle after a ten-day ordeal involving wild animals, physical injuries, broken glasses and no shoes – in addition to a lack of food (Lesson 7). On another occasion, female calm in the face of danger is contrasted with male panic (Lesson 20). In the following listening text, A (female) and B (male) are explorers whose plane is in difficulty:

- A: We’re in trouble, Pete. The engine’s breaking up.
 B: Oh, God! We’re going to crash!
 A: There goes the engine.
 B: We’re going to hit those rocks!
 A: No, we’re not Pete. We’re OK. I’m going to take us down, all right?
 B: What are you doing? The plane’s turning over!
 A: Relax, Pete. I know what I’m doing, right?
 B: Relax? Relax? What do you mean, relax? We’re both going to die! I don’t want to die! I’m too young to die!
 A: Nobody’s going to die, Pete. You’ve got to keep calm. Now listen. I’m going to try to put the plane down over there.
 B: Over where?
 A: On that patch of hard sand, just ahead. But it’s going to be a rough landing. So put your head down, and put your arms over you head. Landing in ten seconds.
 B: Oh, God! We’re going to crash! I’m not going to look!
 A: Landing now, Pete.
 B: (*Screams*).

The woman’s voice on the accompanying tape remains calm throughout, while that of the man becomes increasingly hysterical. It is interesting to note that, in addition to

landing the plane successfully, the woman also has the time and the presence of mind to give the man advice for the crash landing. Elsewhere, particularly in the artwork, men are shown pushing a pram (Lesson 10), looking after small children (Lesson 13), ironing, cooking, washing dishes, and shopping for food (Lesson 30). As can be seen in Table 5.5, although men occupy a wider range of jobs overall, women are shown to occupy positions of responsibility.

Male characters	Female characters
Doctor x 2; BBC sports commentator; footballer x 5; shop assistant x 6; President; dentist/dental receptionist; petrol pump attendant; waiter; TV newsreader; bus driver; university lecturer; explorer x 2; waiter; boss x 4; commercial traveller; airline check-in clerk; van driver/photographer; bank worker/soldier; railway employee; airline check-in clerk; policewoman; airline steward	Professor; shop assistant x 5; taxi driver; President/physicist; hotel receptionist; airline check-in clerk; university lecturer; explorer x 2; boss x 2; switchboard operator; doctor's secretary; travel agent

Table 5.5 Cambridge English 2: fictional characters according to jobs and sex

These representations of women and men contrast strongly with those of so-called traditional peoples elsewhere in the coursebook. Lesson 4, in which the linguistic focus is the use of the present simple for habitual action, features a jumbled text about Australian Aborigines and Amazonian Indians. The accompanying artwork consists of two separately framed colour photographs. The first depicts an all-male group of near-naked Aboriginal men dancing and playing musical instruments, while the second shows two Amazonian women, each with a baby, and includes no men (see Fig. 5.1 below). This arrangement might be said to imply a strict division of gendered roles in such societies.

In fact, such a division is reinforced in a colour drawing of Inuit men and women which accompanies the controlled practice activities. In social semiotic terms this is largely conceptually structured – i.e. the represented participants are arranged in such a way that they suggest essential characteristics of Inuit society. Thus a foregrounded man is shown about to harpoon a seal, while a woman sits cross-legged and sewing outside an igloo in the middle-ground of the drawing. This arrangement associates the woman more closely with the home and domestic work while the man is associated with the provision of food.

The Amazonian women in Fig. 5.1 below are also displayed in what Goffman (1979: 40) refers to as the ‘ritualization of subordination’. The elevated camera angle places the viewer in a position of relative superiority vis-à-vis the represented participants. The smiles of the women and their forward head cants combine to produce an effect which ‘can be read as an acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and appeasement’ (ibid: 46). Unlike the majority of professional, stereotype-breaking women featured in other units, these indigenous women (and men) are emblematic of ways of life which may be said to exist *beyond* the predominantly English-speaking world represented throughout the coursebook, in which gender roles are shown to be less strictly delineated.



Fig. 5.1 Amazonian women (Swan & Walter 1990a)

Interestingly, the lesson concludes with a discussion in which students are asked to speculate on how Eskimos live today. The teacher’s notes point out that the ‘large majority of Eskimos have never seen an igloo’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: 15) and nowadays live in houses and travel by car. Thus the traditional way of life represented in the artwork is explicitly associated with the past, or, in the case of the Australian Aborigines and the Amazonian Indians, living the past in the present.

At the same time *Cambridge English 2*, which is located predominantly in Britain, goes further than its predecessors in its representation of race *within* the English-

speaking world. Lesson 19, entitled ‘Their children will have blue eyes’, focuses on ‘will’ and ‘may’ for prediction in the context of a text about the genes related to eye colour. The text and accompanying exercises are illustrated by two colour drawings of heterosexual couples in which the women are pregnant. In the first of these (Fig. 5.2 below), Lee, a young black man stands behind Carol, his pregnant white partner. One hand rests conventionally and protectively on her shoulder, while the other holds a bag of shopping. Less conventional, certainly for a coursebook published in 1990, is the representation of a couple as being composed of a white woman and a black man.



Fig. 5.2 Portrait of Carol and Lee
(Swan & Walter 1990a)

It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that the first snapshot was also from this coursebook and featured a white man borrowing money from a black friend (see Fig. 1.1). I suggested there that the image was representative of a stance being taken on multiculturalism by the publishers. Multiculturalism is a contested term and very

different typologies have been produced (e.g. Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Parekh, 1997). Block (2006) suggests that interpretations tend towards either a static or reified view in which society is understood to comprise sets of culturally distinct groups with fixed boundaries between them, or a more dynamic or processual view which implies not only porosity between groups, but the emergence of new and hybrid cultural forms and practices. The latter view, often labelled ‘critical multiculturalism’ (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Parekh, 1997), entails the abandonment of monolithic views of national culture and a concomitant concern with the distribution of power as related (in particular) to the ethnically distinct groups within such societies (O’Sullivan *et al.*, 1994). It is a view which suggests the transformation of dominant cultures and the status quo (and by implication the minority cultural groups as well), rather than the straightforward integration or absorption of such groups.

Images such as those found in Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 1.1, essentially of inter-racial contact and harmony, may be said to draw predominantly on a discourse of ‘liberal multiculturalism’ (Kincheloe & Steinberg 1997) – a position which ignores issues related to power while maintaining the sameness and equality of human beings everywhere regardless of the superficial differences which may exist between them. In the thirteen units which feature black, Asian and/or characters from so-called traditional societies there are no references to issues related to power or its unequal distribution in the societies inhabited by these represented participants.

The second couple in Lesson 19 is also of interest with regard to the representation of race (Fig. 5.3 below). Both partners are black and both have jobs which might be seen as characteristically middle-class - Milton teaches economics at a university and Barbara is a physics lecturer. The arrangement is similar to that in Fig. 5.2. The man stands behind his partner with one hand protectively on her upper arm, while the woman rests a hand on her abdomen. Goffman (1979) suggests that such self-touching gestures are typically associated with representations of women and can be read as an indication of the represented participant’s sense of delicacy or self-worth. As with Carol and Lee, Barbara and Milton hold their bodies erect and smile confidently at the viewer.



Fig. 5.3 Portrait of Barbara and Milton
(Swan & Walter 1990a)

Hall (1997c) argues that historically European representations of blackness - whether in the quantities of texts of various kinds produced under colonialism or in more contemporary media and advertising texts - have been characterised largely by stereotyping. This is understood as the 'exercise of symbolic violence' (ibid: 259) against black people which reduces and essentializes their perceived differences to a set of simplified, fixed and exaggerated characteristics. Hall suggests that contestation of such practices has taken a number of forms, one of which is the celebration of difference. He offers, by way of example, the 'United Colours of Benetton' advertisements in the 1990s. In these, ethnically diverse models are used to construct a series of images in which difference and hybridity become signifiers of beauty and – precisely because of the existence of racism – suggestive of an alternative more

harmonious view of race relations. Thus the Benetton brand associates itself with a version of multiculturalism in which issues of power are elided in favour of an idealised and colourful egalitarianism.

Clearly the artwork above has none of the allure of the Benetton advertisements. These are line drawings, not high-tech, high modality advertisements for a global company. However, the frontality of the images and the smiling demands of the represented participants are suggestive of social affinity. They can be said to constitute a deliberate contestation to stereotypical representations of blackness in the sense that one is a positive image of racial harmony (Fig. 5.2), and the other is a positive image of black people in which the focus is on achievement (Fig 5.3). Milton and Barbara are lecturers in established academic disciplines, and, interestingly, the biographical information about the first couple reveals that Lee, a bus driver, also studies mathematics at night school – a fact which might be said to suggest his commitment to self-improvement. Taken alongside the other representations of race, they form a visually salient element in the coursebook’s representational repertoire.

At the same time, *Cambridge English 2* also includes representation of disability. Fig. 5.4 below corresponds to a listening and speaking exercise designed to practise the lexis of physical appearance. As can be seen, the diverse set of characters includes a woman in a wheelchair. This is the only representation of disability in the coursebook but it is noticeable nonetheless, precisely because such images are rare. In fact, it is the only image of disability in a coursebook of the time that I am aware of.



Fig. 5.4 Physical description (Swan & Walter 1990a)

But equally significant in my view is the fact that the word ‘wheelchair’ does not appear in the exercise itself. Furthermore, it neither appears in the list of lexical items at the end of the lesson, nor in the teacher’s notes. On the one hand, the artwork can be seen as exemplifying an inclusive representational practice – that is, one which seeks to include a wide cross-section of society, and similar in many ways to the aforementioned representations of gender and race. On the other hand, the exercise is silent about the represented participant’s disability – the precise reason the character has been included – which means she must be described mainly in terms of clothes and hair. Such an approach is congruent with liberal multiculturalism, which Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997: 10) say is typified by ‘colour blindness’. By the same token, the artwork in Fig. 5.4 can be read as an example of disability blindness – that is, the disability is represented visually but not referred to verbally. As we shall see in Chapter 7, the interviews with the publishers serve to shed some explanatory light on the precise nature of these representational practices.

Before turning to the treatment of the speaking and writing skills it is necessary to comment briefly on the artwork overall, which is entirely in colour. However, although production values are clearly high (e.g. glossy cover, good quality paper), little use is made of photography and most artwork consists mainly of realist-style drawings. Given the overall success of the first edition of the course which first appeared in 1984, it is highly unlikely that a second edition was seen as a financial risk necessitating less expensive artwork. Rather, I would suggest the drawings are signifiers of overall continuity between the two editions. The first edition relied heavily on line drawings – as indeed did many coursebooks from the period. In fact, many of the same drawings reappear in the second edition. What is different in terms of ‘look’ is the pervasive use of colour and a new A4 size. In this way it more closely resembles the newly successful *Headway* course, while still retaining key elements of an established brand image.

5.2.4 Speaking and writing

As with the reading, listening and language texts, there is considerable integration between the speaking and writing activities. For example, students may engage in an

oral activity in which they elicit information from partners and then produce a written version of their findings. In common with the coursebooks surveyed so far, speaking activities often involve students talking about themselves. Thus, as Appendix 5 shows, students elicit and exchange information about their leisure activities, days in their life when everything went wrong, similarities and differences between them and other members of the class, preferences, travel and food experiences, their views on superstitions, and important facts about/events in their own life. They also engage in controlled practice dialogues in which they rehearse functions such as requests, offers and making arrangements, along with discussions (e.g. what to take from a selection of supplies in the event of a plane crash) and short role plays related to service encounters, the above mentioned functions, talking about a day at work and a job interview. In addition, students have their attention drawn to formal and informal expressions and degrees of politeness (e.g. 'Have you got a fiver?' contrasted with 'Could you lend me a fiver?').

Writing activities function mainly to provide further practice of language points. Thus students produce reports on the personal habits of members of the class, notes to friends in which they make requests and offers, descriptive accounts of aspects of their town/country, a poster advertising their country as a tourist destination and a job application letter.

Overall, these speaking and writing topics are broadly similar to those described in Chapter 4 – although there is (along with an absence of drills) a tendency, concomitant with the communicative methodology referred to in the introduction, towards greater exploitation of the naturally occurring information gap between students. It will also be recalled that the introduction points out that the material is aimed at students with a European-style educational background. While presupposing a certain type of schematic knowledge, this seems also to mean the inclusion of some slightly 'riskier' topics. So, for example, students are asked to discuss if they would tell their married partner if they fell in love with someone else (Lesson 30), and in another exercise they are asked to write a short speech to try and convince their peers to do things such as change their religion (Lesson 23). Elsewhere the teacher's notes suggest students might be asked to speculate about the kind of children that would result if pairs of students were to get married (Lesson 19). Such activities are held to

be ‘important both pedagogically and psychologically’ (Swan & Walter 1990a: 71), as the authors suggest students are motivated by being given the opportunity to use English to entertain, surprise, inform and move each other. They are also, as Anderson (2002) and Kullman (2003) have suggested, typical of an increasingly learner-centred pedagogy in which certain limited aspects of students’ lives come to form the basis of much of what goes on in the classroom.

5.3 Summary

By way of summary, we can say that the representation of English found in *Cambridge English 2* is based predominantly on standard British English. Although RP/MRP predominates, and functions as the authoritative voice of the coursebook, RUK and North American accents occur frequently throughout the units. It is clear from this, and from the authors comments above, that the coursebook attempts to represent a degree of phonological variation – although this does not extend to OEC accents in any significant way. The focus overall is on ‘native speaker’ varieties. Students also have their attention drawn explicitly to features of spoken English such as ellipsis, although they are not required to reproduce these.

Although few places are mentioned, the preponderance of British characters suggests the coursebook is located in mainly in Britain. The representation of these characters in terms of gender and race (and to a much lesser extent disability) forms a distinctive element in the representational repertoire. The representations of race within the English-speaking world may be said to draw on a discourse of liberal multiculturalism in which inter-racial harmony and personal success are emphasized. Similarly, although overall the number of women is lower than the number of men, the representations of women emphasize their professional success, in addition to their physical strength and bravery.

Apart from rehearsing functional exchanges of the type suggested by the Threshold level, students are repeatedly invited to share information about themselves and uncontroversial aspects of their own country. The inclusion of ‘riskier’ topics, which are seen as appropriate for students with a European-style educational background, are essentially fun activities and in no way can be said to encourage students to

respond with any degree of personal investment. At the same time, students are not asked to engage with the implications of the representations of gender and race from the perspective of their own classed, raced and gendered identities.

5.4 The New Edition New Headway course

The *Headway* course is generally seen by the ELT industry as a remarkable publishing phenomenon. Holliday (2005: 41) uses the term ‘cultural icon’ for certain concepts, individuals and artefacts which are revered and sustained within, what he refers to as, the ideological structure of Western TESOL, and he suggests, justifiably in my view, that one such cultural icon is the *Headway* course, which first appeared in 1986. Anderson’s (2002) observation that it was used in every school he taught in resonates with my own experience of teaching and training in several different international settings over a number of years. One OUP editor I spoke to told me it is so successful that sales from the course alone could fund an entire publishing house (personal communication, OUP, 2000). At the time of writing, the *Headway* course is in its third edition and consists of five levels. The overall title may be said to connote progress with the individual component titles (*Headway Pre-Intermediate*, *Headway Intermediate* etc.) suggesting incremental steps along the way.

5.4.1 Syllabus and grammar

The New Edition New Headway Intermediate (Soars & Soars 2003) (hereafter *Headway Intermediate*) has a clearly foregrounded grammar syllabus. The detailed contents pages in the student’s book lists grammar first in the breakdown of content for each unit (followed by vocabulary, everyday English, reading, speaking, listening and writing) and each grammar point is made salient through the use of headings in differently coloured font. Each unit begins with a ‘test your grammar’ section, and there are several clearly labelled ‘grammar spots’ throughout units which draw students’ attention to key points. Furthermore, those grammar-based controlled practice activities which students are asked to do in pairs/groups are labelled ‘discussing grammar’.

Each unit ends with a section entitled ‘Everyday English’. Altogether these focus on a disparate range of items which include functions (e.g. requests and offers); notions (e.g. expressing quantity); ‘social expressions’ (e.g. Take care!); numbers and dates; setting specific language (e.g. Hop in!; Just looking, thanks); telephone language (e.g. The line’s busy at the moment); signs (e.g. Please wait to be seated); and informal English (e.g. These trainers cost ninety quid!). The tapescripts for these sections and for the scripted dialogues which occur throughout each unit include limited representation of features of spoken English such as ellipsis, fillers, hesitation etc., although the accompanying activities do not draw students’ attention to these.

5.4.2 Lexis and phonology

Vocabulary is treated systematically. Each unit has a vocabulary section in which lexical sets related to the thematic content of the unit are introduced and practised. In addition, individual units address areas such as collocation, compounding and idioms, as well as providing information on how vocabulary can be recorded by students.

Phonetic script is used periodically throughout units, for example to focus on the pronunciation of regular past tense verb endings and charts listing the sounds of the RP accent are included at the back of the book. However, there is no phonology syllabus in the student’s book - but there is a separate *Headway* pronunciation course which comes with its own books and tapes/CDs. Although this separate course is referred to on the blurb, the student’s book can be used independently of the pronunciation course. With regard to the phonological representation of English, Table 5.6 shows the breakdown of the range of accents deployed.

Accent	RP/modified RP	Regional UK	International inner circle	Outer/expanding circle
Exclusive occurrences: number of units	-	-	-	-
Co-occurrences: Number of units	12	12	10	6
Occurrences: total number of units	12	12	10	6

Table 5.6 Headway Intermediate: total numbers of units according to range of accents

As with the other coursebooks surveyed, RP/MRP is used to frame all units and, as Appendix 6 shows, it also predominates within each unit. However, all units feature RUK accents and all but two units feature IIC accents – most commonly from North America. Although six units contain OEC accents, only three feature speakers with extended turns. The same voice, most probably that of an actor, is used for a Japanese speaker in one unit and for a Korean in another and in neither case is there any syntactic variation. Elsewhere, a speaker who is clearly labelled as being from an expanding circle country speaks with an RP/MRP accent (Unit 10). As can be seen from Table 5.7, although RP/MRP is used for a wide variety of speakers with different types of employment, the tendency is for speakers with higher status jobs not to speak with RUK accents.

Jobs in which speakers have RP/modified RP accents	Jobs in which speakers have RP/modified RP and regional UK accents	Jobs in which speakers have regional UK accents
Interior designer; 'clown doctor'; manager; fast food sales assistant; waitresses; weatherwoman; airline check-in person; airhostess; newsreaders; barman; cellist; businesswoman; personal assistant; professor	Telephonists; taxi drivers	Shop assistants; bus driver; job interviewer

Table 5.7 Headway Intermediate: distribution of jobs according to RP/MRP and RUK accents

In similar vein, a working class woman sent to prison along with her drunken husband for anti-social behaviour has a clear RUK accent. Her speech contrasts with that of a more middle-class neighbour whose accent is more noticeably RP/MRP. The differences between the families are also reinforced through the artwork. As with all the coursebooks surveyed, RP/MRP continues to occupy a privileged position in the phonological representation of English.

5.4.3 Reading and listening

From its first appearance the *Headway* course was distinguished by the use of long texts to provide reading and listening practice. The blurb draws attention to the fact that these are 'up-to-date' and have 'global appeal'. Table 5.8 below shows that, of the Threshold Level topics, 'travel' receives the most attention. In fact, in addition to being a major topic in seven units, it also occurs in all twelve units. The topics

grouped under the heading of ‘other’ include: the wonders of the modern world; a Native American folk tale; the lives of two famous artists; teenage life; relocating to Spain; winning the lottery; charity appeals; various types of obsessive behaviour; a profile of Madonna; facts about the world; problems associated with modern lifestyles; and birth, marriage and death.

Topic	House and home	Trade, profession, occupation	Free time entertainment	Travel	Relations with other people
Number of units	1	3	4	7	1
Topic	Shopping	Food and drink	Places	Weather	Other
Number of units	1	2	3	1	7

Table 5.8 Headway Intermediate: number of units in which Threshold Level topics are addressed

As is the case with most contemporary coursebooks (e.g. *Inside Out* by Kay & Jones (2000); *Natural English* by Gairns & Redman (2002); *New Cutting Edge* by Cunningham & Jones (2005)), *Headway Intermediate* has no storyline and units revolve around the aforementioned topics and an accompanying set of fictional and non-fictional characters. These include: Neil Armstrong, Tom Cruise, Nicolas Cage, J. K. Rowling, Madonna, Guy Ritchie, and Frank Sinatra. With the exception of Picasso and Penelope Cruz, it is clear that the list draws primarily on iconic Anglo-American figures and that it is also more of a ‘celebrity’ list than those found in the other coursebooks in this study.

By now it will be clear that feminism has made a significant impact on the representational repertoires in successive generations of ELT coursebooks. This is a trend which is continued and nuanced further in *Headway Intermediate* – despite the fact that, as Table 5.9 shows, men predominate numerically. The only exception to this is the greater number of women’s voices on the tapes.

Sex of represented participants	Texts	Tasks	Tapes	Artwork
Male	147	145	237	241
Female	113	115	251	191

Table 5.9 Headway Intermediate: numbers of male and female representations

As might be expected, women are consistently represented in positions of power and prestige. So, for example, students read a lengthy text about Karen Saunders who runs her own London-based travel agency specialising in sending people ‘all over the world on their dream holiday’ (Unit 5). It is a glamorous job which involves ‘working holidays four or five times a year’ (ibid) and provides Karen with multiple opportunities for exploring new places and shopping. As can be seen in Table 5.10 below, women in *Headway Intermediate* occupy a wide range of jobs.

Male characters	Female characters
Lawyer; paperboy; teacher; manager; fast food sales assistant; airline check-in clerk; taxi drivers x 2; telephonist; shop assistant; job interviewer; news reader; meteorologist; ironworker; cook; sailor; actor x 2; conductor; bank employee; hotel receptionist; radio presenter; professor; policeman; lifeboat captain; lifeboat crew	UN Goodwill ambassador (film star, writer); interior designer x 2; ‘clown doctor’; teacher; businesswoman x 3; waitress x 2; travel agent; weatherwoman; bus driver; telephonist; air hostess; shop assistant; interviewee for journalist job; news reader; lawyer/trapeze artist; newspaper agony aunt; veterinary assistant; cellist; midwife x 2

Table 5.10 Headway Intermediate: fictional characters according to jobs and sex

In many cases attention is also drawn to the personal achievements of such women. It is worth detailing what this involves in some cases - for example:

- Kaori Sato holds an honorary position at the UN and has a special interest in children’s health and education, a role which takes her to Africa every year (Unit 1). In addition to being a famous film star, she is a graduate of Tokyo University and the Tokyo Theatre School. She is also a best-selling author, and is married with two children.
- Nancy Mann applies for a job as a Geneva-based business journalist (Unit 7). Nancy was born in Argentina, and went to school in Buenos Aires. She studied modern languages and journalism at University College, London, spent a year working in Berlin for the BBC, and has travelled extensively. She also worked for a company called Intertec which involved trips to Japan to ‘interview some Japanese business leaders’ (ibid). She has been married twice.
- Swedish cellist Astrid Johnsson, we are told, ‘has had an interesting life so far’

(Unit 10). This has involved winning Young Musician of the Year when she was only eight, a scholarship to study at the Royal Academy of Music, London, and a Master of Music degree. She got married at twenty-one, had a daughter at twenty-three, divorced at twenty-nine and remarried at thirty-eight. After her divorce she bought a flat in New York but moved to Paris when she met her second husband. She is currently based there where she lectures and teaches the cello. A successful composer, she has also won a prize for the Best European Film Soundtrack.

What makes these women different from those featured in the other coursebooks in this study is that their successes are so spectacular and that they themselves, in many cases, are cosmopolitans from expanding circle countries who are at home anywhere in the world. Such representations, I would suggest, serve to link English with a new kind of cosmopolitan identity in which spectacular success and mobility are the other key components.

Another development in the representation of women in this coursebook is that many of them are explicitly identified as mothers. It will be recalled that female representations in *Connections* were predominantly sexist and that the dependency of children on women was reinforced through the artwork. *Building Strategies* saw the appearance of a different type of woman. Barbara, the main female character was single, childless, career-minded and not interested in ‘settling down’ – although the professionally successful Laura Dennison was identified as a mother (but, significantly, she was not depicted with children in the artwork). In fact, in *Building Strategies* and *Cambridge English 2*, where babies and children did feature, they were mostly associated with men – particularly so in the artwork. In contrast, *Headway Intermediate* repeatedly draws attention to the fact that professional women are often mothers. In her work on historical representations of motherhood in British women’s magazines, Woodward (1997) notes a tendency from the 1990s onwards to represent women as both professionals *and* mothers. She also notes that such representations tend not to feature men. The figure of the ‘independent mother’ (ibid: 265) she suggests is ‘partly a fantasy figure’ who can ‘have it all’ (ibid: 272), adding

This new ‘figure’ incorporates different elements of previous maternal subjectivities, drawing on different repertoires. For a woman to have a child without male support is not only more likely at this historical time, but also a more attractive and desirable proposition in terms of this representation of motherhood without stigma, although the magazines underplay economic problems. The addition of agency and sexuality to maternal identity make it especially attractive (ibid: 280).

Headway Intermediate does not go quite this far. Not surprisingly, all references to economics and sexual independence are eschewed. However, husbands may be referred to, if not always represented in artwork. A good example of this is provided in Fig. 5.5 below. Here we see businesswoman Karen in her role as mother, spending time with her four-year-old daughter and as suited boss, checking her busy schedule for the day with her assistant.


WE LIKE ANIMALS, DON'T WE?

Question tags

1 **11.1** Listen to Gabriella, aged 4, talking to Karen, her mother. Underline the question tags.

G Mummy?
K Yes, Gaby?
G I've got ten fingers, haven't I?
K Yes, that's right, sweetie. Ten pretty little fingers.
G And Daddy didn't go to work this morning, did he?
K No, it's Saturday. He's working in the garden today.
G And we like animals, don't we, Mummy?
K Yes, we do. Especially our cats, Sammy and Teddy.
G Can I have a biscuit now, Mummy?

2 **11.2** Listen again. Does Gabriella's intonation go up or down on the question tags?



2 Complete the conversation between Karen and her assistant with a question tag from the box.

didn't it? isn't it? am I? haven't I?

K Now, what's happening today? I've got a meeting this afternoon. _____?

A Yes, that's right. With Henry and Tom.

K And the meeting's here, _____?

A No, it isn't. It's in Tom's office at 3 o'clock.

K Oh! I'm not having lunch with anyone, _____?


A No, you're free for lunch.

K Phew! And I signed all my letters, _____?

A No, you didn't, actually. They're on your desk, waiting for you.

K OK. I'll do them now. Thanks a lot.

3 **11.3** Listen and check. Does Karen's intonation go up or down on the question tags?



GRAMMAR SPOT

1 Which speaker, Gabriella or Karen, uses question tags to mean ...?

- I'm not sure, so I'm checking.
- Talk to me. I want to have a conversation with you.

2 How do we form question tags?

► Grammar Reference 11.2 p149

3 Practise the conversations with a partner.

Fig. 5.5 Working mother (Soars & Soars 2003)

Although the first dialogue refers to ‘daddy’, there is no visual representation of a man and the artwork clearly serves to reinforce the compatibility of active motherhood with a career outside the home. At the same time, elsewhere in the coursebook, a Native American folk tale is used to make an overtly feminist point -

namely, that a boastful warrior, for all his bravery and ability to fight, can easily be defeated by a screaming baby (Unit 3). The implication is that it takes another kind of bravery to deal with small children – a fact already known to the woman who sets the challenge. Although men *are* also shown as caring fathers, overall, it could be argued that the coursebook reasserts the right of career women to be represented as actively ‘mothering’ – but in such a way that this is not shown to compromise their right to power and prestige in the workplace.

The world of work, although the main topic in only three units, features heavily throughout *Headway Intermediate*. Work is represented as a privileged means for the unproblematic realization or reinvention of the self along lines determined purely by personal choice. Such a view is concomitant with Giddens’ (1991: 82) view that ‘choice of work and work milieu forms a basic element of lifestyle orientations in the extremely modern division of labour’. Thus, three reading texts on ‘dream jobs’ in Unit 7 feature interviews with individuals who obtain a high level of personal fulfilment from doing unusual jobs. Stanley Karras relocated from London to Florida and became a ‘hurricane hunter’ after seeing a television programme. Linda Spelman gave up life as a lawyer to become a trapeze artist and travel the world. She advises readers to ‘Go for it! You only live once, so why stay in a boring job?’ (ibid), while Michael Doyle, a New York construction worker, is referred to as a ‘cowboy in the sky’ (ibid). Although dangerous, his job is well-paid and a source of pride and comradeship. The artwork shows Michael astride a girder staring into the middle distance in a gesture of ‘licensed withdrawal’ (Goffman 1979: 57). This term refers to a turning away by the represented participant from an element which may or may not be visible in the photograph or, as in this instance, from meeting the gaze of the imagined viewer. The effect is to mark the represented participant off as individual or somehow different.

Elsewhere, individuals are shown to choose quality of life over ‘life in the fast lane’ – hence a listening exercise about a forty-five year old college graduate who is happy working as a ‘paperboy’ because it allows him to spend time with his family (although it should be pointed out he manages to earn \$60,000 a year) (Unit 2). In the same unit there is a reading about a young woman who works as a clown in a hospital for sick children. Although the job is physically and emotionally demanding, it

provides her with a deep sense of personal satisfaction. In another unit a couple decide to forego the good salaries and bad weather of England for the riskier prospect of growing lemons in Spain (Unit 8). The common thread in all these situations is choice. These individuals are, to borrow a term Probyn (1990, in Woodward 1997: 280) applies to the figure of the independent mother, members of a 'choiceoisie' – people whose lifestyle choices are unaffected by personal, financial, or social constraints of any kind.

With the exception of the middle-aged paperboy, the above are all young adults. However, an interesting development in *Headway Intermediate* is the representation of middle-aged and elderly people as leading active and fulfilled lives – doing aerobics, travelling and meeting new people. These representations can also be combined with a clear feminist message – for example, in a writing exercise on 'describing a person' (Unit 9) students are presented with a model text about Emily Morgan. In her late fifties, she lives alone and has never married. Emily is described as 'quite young in spirit', with a 'warm, friendly smile' and 'still rather attractive' (ibid). Her days are spent reading, gardening and walking her dog – in addition to helping others in the village. Her niece, who provides the description, concludes by saying 'I hope I am as contented as she is when I am her age' (ibid). This celebratory representation of a single contented woman is reinforced, as can be seen in Fig.5.6, with sensory orientation artwork.



Fig. 5.6 Representation of middle-age (Soars & Soars 2003)

On the subject of artwork, it should be pointed out that *Headway Intermediate* is the ‘glossiest’ of the coursebooks surveyed. All units are in full colour with the majority of artwork consisting of photographs, many with sensory rather than naturalistic orientation. A considerable amount of colour and shading is also used on the page to frame sections, to make examples and grammar points salient, and to direct students to other part of the book. However, a more important feature is the fact that demand photographs occur in all units, with the exception of one. Students are repeatedly addressed directly through gaze by coursebook characters and, in social semiotic terms, are thereby encouraged to feel social affinity with a range of successful, individualistic, generally attractive, fun-loving, and well-travelled, English speakers.

It will be recalled that in *Building Strategies* this type of gaze was associated mainly with the central characters, Rod and Barbara – both of whom were from inner circle countries. One significant feature of the deployment of this type of artwork in *Headway Intermediate* is that such demands are made by a much wider range of international characters. Students, I would suggest, are no longer invited to feel affinity solely with English speakers from inner circle countries but also with cosmopolitan English speakers from the expanding circle. Fig. 5.7 below is typical of

this type of artwork. It is one of two photographs which accompany a letter from Soon-hee, a Korean language student from Seoul, to her friend Sandy in Melbourne, thanking her and her family for their hospitality on a recent study trip. The letter contains details of a subsequent trip to Perth and plans for future trips. The artwork, which shows Soon-hee and her brother Sang-chul, is in the form of what Goffman (1979: 10) calls a 'private picture'. Such photographs, he suggests,

are those designed for display within the intimate social circle of the persons featured in them [in which] [t]he individual is able to catch himself (sic) at a moment when – for him – he is in ideal surroundings, in association with socially desirable others, garbed in a self-enhancing way [...] and with a socially euphoric look on his face [...] [a] moment, in short, when he is in social bloom (ibid).

Thus a commonplace artefact such as the snapshot allows for the presentation of private aspects of the self, and when distributed among friends and family functions as an invitation to share something of the life of the represented participants. Such artwork may also be said to include the student-viewer in the intimate social circle of the cosmopolitan represented participants.



Fig. 5.7 Demand artwork (Soars & Soars 2003)

Concomitant with the tendency for more demand-type artwork and an increasingly cosmopolitan ‘summoning look’ (Goffman’s term for gaze, 1979: 16) is, what might be called, a greater globalizing of content. Elsewhere I have suggested (Gray 2002: 157) that contemporary coursebooks show signs of being ‘subtly deterritorialized’ – by which I meant the way in which they are increasingly less exclusively located in the UK. This is true of *Headway Intermediate* which, while continuing to locate characters mainly in English-speaking parts of the world (e.g. the UK, the USA, Australia), constantly refers to their experiences in other places or their plans to visit them (e.g. Mexico, France, Spain, Thailand, Japan, Brazil, Dubai, Tanzania – to list but a few). Linked to this are the ‘up-to-date texts with global appeal’ advertised in the blurb. These are essentially celebrations of the benign version of globalization referred to in Chapter 1. For example, the main reading text in Unit 1, which is entitled ‘It’s a Wonderful World!’, suggests that the technological and scientific achievements of the last one hundred years constitute a set of wonders to rival those of the ancient world. These are the Internet, space travel, advances in health care, air travel, the Olympic Games, increased agricultural productivity, and the fact nuclear weapons have not been used. The tone throughout is celebratory and replete with exclamation marks (e.g. ‘Surely nothing has done more for the comfort and happiness of the human race than the advances in health care!’, ‘We are still here!’ [ibid]).

Problems which might reasonably be associated with some of these developments are elided or reduced to as-yet-unresolved glitches in management. For example, issues around food production and distribution are addressed as follows:

In 1724, Jonathan Swift wrote, ‘Whoever makes two blades of grass or two ears of corn grow where only one grew before serves mankind better than the whole race of politicians’. In Europe our farmers have done this. In 1709, whole villages in France died of hunger. Now in Europe, we can’t eat all the food we produce. If only politicians could find a way to share it with those parts of the world where there is famine (Unit 1).

The elimination of famine is thereby linked with the ingenuity of farmers rather than with the structural changes which have taken place in Europe since the eighteenth century. As with most reading and writing exercises, student responses are largely restricted to comprehension questions which focus on retrieval of information from the text. The specific nature of the problem which politicians have not been able to solve in this instance is not made available for discussion – rather, the comprehension

questions lead into a ‘Talking about you’ section in which students discuss topics such as their favourite website.

Other such items include a somewhat essentialist guide to good manners around the world in which a dubious set of cultural ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ are presented as hard and fast rules (e.g. ‘In Russia, you must match your hosts drink for drink or they will think you unfriendly’ [Unit 4]), and a celebratory biography of the pizza which suggests it is the quintessential global fast food. As with many of the reading exercises in *Headway Intermediate*, these texts are reproduced with headlines and authors names to look as though they originally appeared in a magazine – although, in this instance, they do not appear in the acknowledgments.

A final aspect of the globalizing of content is the representation of black and Asian characters. In addition to the named characters mentioned above, much representation takes place at the level of the artwork – in fact ten of the twelve units feature a wide range of phenotypically diverse characters. In *Connections* we saw that black and Asian characters were generally used to signal that the action was set abroad whereas *Building Strategies* and *Cambridge English 2* sought to avoid this implication by introducing black and Asian characters who appeared to be British and/or American. *Headway Intermediate* is less at pains to establish the Britishness or the Americanness of such characters – rather, through an absence of framing in the artwork, ethnically diverse characters are used to compose photographic collages which might be said to connote a specifically global type of multiculturalism. Fig. 5.8 below, which reproduces the artwork accompanying the ‘Everyday English’ section in Unit 3, is a good example of this.



Fig. 5.8 Collage-type artwork (Soars & Soars 2003)

As can be seen, four separate photographs merge into one to form a single collage. There is nothing about the exercise or the artwork to suggest any particular country – rather, I would suggest, the image connotes a global multiculturalism in which all the represented participants, whatever their differences, are essentially citizens of the world – linked together through the common currency of English (all are shown talking). Similar artwork accompanies the global guide to good manners referred to above. This latter type in which the focus is on (superficial) difference has been labelled ‘pluralist multiculturalism’ by Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) – and like liberal multiculturalism it is celebratory rather than critical.

5.4.4 *Speaking and writing*

There is a wide range of speaking activities in all units of *Headway Intermediate*. Many of these are integrated into grammar activities or form part of receptive skills

work. Thus students not only repeat and memorize controlled practice dialogues, they also do activities in which they talk about grammar. These sections are called ‘Discussing grammar’ and invite students to identify errors, discuss differences in meaning between pairs of sentences, and manipulate grammatical form. In sections labelled ‘Talking about you’ students are required mainly to manipulate grammatical form in such a way that they make sentences which are true for them (e.g. ‘I’ve known my best friend for ...’ [Unit 7]), while ‘What do you think?’ sections are mainly follow-up activities to reading and listening texts. As mentioned earlier, such speaking activities are designed so that students talk about the topic in exclusively personal terms. Thus, the comprehension questions which follow the reading on fast food referred to above are followed by questions such as ‘Do you like pizza? What are your favourite toppings?’ – as opposed to, for example, questions about health and fast food. Role plays, which feature in five units, are mainly used to provide practice opportunities for functional language (e.g. requests, offers, suggestions etc.). The ‘Everyday English’ section which features in all units also practices similar functions, in addition to introducing students to more idiomatic and setting-specific expressions.

In common with all the coursebooks surveyed in this study, the writing skill is treated as being the least important. In fact, the main writing activities for each unit have been grouped together in a separate section at the back of the book. These are linked to the topic of the unit and include: various types of correspondence (personal letters, personal emails, formal letters/fax); narratives (folk/fairy tale, disastrous holiday); personal opinion in which the pros and cons of a topic are stated; descriptions (favourite room, person); and a profile of an admired famous person. In the majority of instances, rather than focusing in detail on features of the genre, the writing activity aims to provide further practice of a language point (e.g. narrative tenses, relative pronouns) – although some attention is paid to salutations and endings in correspondence. Overall, the ‘narrativization of the self’ (Hall 1996: 4) provides the main subject matter for the writing activities – so students are asked to describe their personal experiences and recount their impressions of studying English abroad; email an old friend found on the Friends Reunited website with an update of news and plans for the future; a description of a favourite room and reasons why it is important; and the story of a disastrous holiday.

In the following section I return to the first research question and a discussion of the results of the application of the descriptive framework to the coursebooks under investigation.

5.5 Discussion

It will be recalled that the first research question is ‘What form has cultural content taken in ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain since the 1970s?’ To address this question I produced a descriptive framework which aimed to explore the ways in which English has been made to mean in coursebooks – with particular reference to the moments of representation and identity on the ‘circuit of culture’. The remainder of this section provides a summary and discussion of the results of the application of the framework.

With regard to the representation of language, the framework shows that standard British English is the variety used as the basis in all the coursebooks surveyed. There is no indication that syntactic variation (apart from errors produced by students) is a feature of language. That said, variation at the phonological level is represented – although all regional UK and international accents, regardless of their provenance, are invariably mild. Both these features are generally in line with the Threshold Level recommendations, which, it will be recalled are posited on the notion of interaction predominantly with ‘native speakers’. These stated that:

the learners will be expected to understand only those utterances which are spoken in the standard dialect with either the standard accent or accents which have a slight regional, foreign, and/or socio-economic colouring (van Ek 1975: 17).

Thus, all the coursebooks in the study privilege the RP/MRP cluster of accents and reveal a concomitant tendency to associate RUK accents with speakers in lower status jobs. More controversial, in the case of three of the coursebooks (*Building Strategies* is the exception), is the use of RUK accents to reference gullible, anti-social and criminal characters. Although negative attitudes towards regional accents, particularly in the media, are changing within the UK (Jenkins 2000), it would appear that British ELT publishers remain (at best) conservative on the issue. Striking too is the low

number of accents from the outer and the expanding circle (although *Building Strategies* does include more). This is particularly noticeable in the case of *Headway Intermediate* which, despite a thorough globalizing of content, continues to treat superficially the kind of English its cast of global characters might be expected to produce – both phonologically and syntactically.

While all four coursebooks highlight the use of relatively fixed expressions in service encounters and informal conversational exchanges, they vary in their treatment of features such as ellipsis, reformulation, etc. in the representation of spoken English. *Building Strategies* and *Headway Intermediate* include examples in some tape recordings, but *Cambridge English 2* is alone in drawing explicit attention to these (although for recognition purposes only). While there may be sound pedagogic reasons for this, it has also been suggested, as we shall see in Chapter 7, that commercial imperatives play an important role in determining the kind of language which is contained in coursebooks.

With regard to the English-speaking world and the characters who inhabit it, a number of distinctive features emerge. The first of these is the thorough feminizing of content – by which I mean the way in which the representational practices deployed reveal the influence of feminism. The pervasive sexism of *Connections* is replaced by a feminizing of content which is instanced through the actual representations of women, and to a lesser extent of men – rather than through significant changes in the numerical presence of female characters overall. These involve the consistent depiction of women as successful and independently minded professionals, as brave and initiative-taking individualists, and as high-powered working mothers. Men on the other hand are consistently shown as being involved in housework, looking after children, and often as professionally less ambitious than their female partners. The feminizing of content is also responsive to historical developments in the evolving discourse of feminism – thus the figure of the independent mother said to emerge in the 1990s forms a more salient element in the representational repertoire of *Headway Intermediate* than in any of the other coursebooks surveyed.

Another distinctive feature to emerge from the application of the framework is the progressive multiculturalizing of content. Thus there is a move away from the use of

black and Asian characters to signal that the scenes depicted take place ‘abroad’ (*Connections*) to one in which such characters, alongside others from expanding circle countries are the main focus of the unit (*Headway Intermediate*). Such representations draw exclusively on liberal and pluralist versions of multiculturalism in which issues of power and inequality are elided. Linked to this is a concomitant globalizing of content which is most noticeable in *Headway Intermediate*. This is achieved in a number of ways: firstly, through a process of deterritorialization in which the UK ceases to function as the main locus of action; secondly, through the use of global travel as a recurrent theme; and thirdly, through the increased foregrounding of cosmopolitan characters from expanding circle countries.

There is also, what might be called, a strong celebratory strand in the content of all four coursebooks. Lives, whether fictional or non-fictional, are celebrated in terms of personal and professional success. An ideology of individualism runs through these life stories and it is no accident that the final unit of *Headway Intermediate* includes a gap-fill exercise on the song ‘I did it my way’, the lyrics of which can be read as a self-satisfied appraisal of a life lived to the full and according to the dictates of personal choice. At the same time, the particular world in which these characters interact, is also celebrated as the object of what has elsewhere been referred to as the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry 1990; 2001). This refers to the way in which phenomena (e.g. mountains, museums, people etc.) are viewed for pleasure by tourists. Urry (1990) argues that tourism in late modernity is a marker of status and although coursebook characters also travel for work-related reasons, like tourists they are often motivated by the desire for experience rather than by economic necessity. However, the particular type of tourist gaze afforded by the ELT coursebook is the one which is offered to the student. This is best described as ‘static’ – that is, it is equivalent to ‘the balcony vantage point’ (Pratt 1992, in Urry 2001: 4) or that offered at one remove through photographs. In the pages of these coursebooks a highly particularised representation of the world is constructed and although problems such as unemployment, famine and stress *are* mentioned from time to time, the focus overall is on the positive and the enjoyable. Essentially, I would suggest, students are offered a view onto a landscape of pleasure into which a highly particularized narrative of the self can be repeatedly projected.

Fundamental to the form these representations take is the artwork. The framework reveals a number of features which have taken place over time, the most significant of which are: a move towards full colour for all units; the almost exclusive use of photographs and ensuing higher visual modality; greater sensory orientation in the photography; and greater use of demand-type artwork.

All these representational practices are intimately bound up with the moment of identity on the 'circuit of culture'. As we have seen, representation and identity may be said to entail one another in a number of ways. Firstly, as Hall (1996) and Ferguson (2004) point out, identity implies 'identification'. Both refer to Laplace and Pontalis (1988: 205) who provide the following dictionary-type definition:

Psychological process whereby the subject assimilates an aspect, property or attribute of the other and is transformed, wholly or partially, after the model the other provides. It is by means of identifications that the personality is constituted and specified.

Representations, of the type found in advertising and, I would argue, in ELT coursebooks, may be said to seek to create such identifications. Students, in much the same way as viewers of advertising, are summoned to adopt subject positions through the range of semiotic resources deployed in the representation. Thus we can say, for example, that the tendency towards greater use of demand-style artwork seeks to create identification and summons students to membership of a community of speakers of English who are characterised by the success, mobility and egalitarianism referred to earlier.

At the same time, Hall (1996) argues that identities are constructed within the representations we make of ourselves, and as Joseph (2004) points out, this is a process in which language is a key tool. However, the language which students use is, as I have suggested, particularly circumscribed. In line with the conclusions reached by Anderson (2002) and Kullman (2003), my own analysis confirms a move towards an increasingly personalized type of interaction in which students talk mainly about themselves. In addition, I would argue, that students are positioned overall by comprehension tasks and subsequent follow-up activities to respond to texts as language learners for whom only a limited range of responses are required/permitted.

This is particularly noticeable in those texts (and artwork) where discussion of foregrounded ideological content is foreclosed. All such practices are essentially regulatory in nature - that is they seek to determine the subject positions students may adopt by narrowly defining what can be said. As Hall (1996: 5-6) states, identities are 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us', and what is constructed in ELT coursebooks is, I would suggest, particularly circumscribed.

5.6 Conclusion

This concludes the first round of data analysis. To find out why the representational repertoires identified in these two chapters take the form they do, it is necessary to turn now to the moments of production and regulation on the 'circuit of culture'. Many of the issues which have been raised here will be addressed again as they are explored in the light of documentation produced by ELT publishers and through interviews with publishers.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS AND INTERVIEWS

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 I outlined the first part of the research design and focused on the theoretical and methodological issues relating to the analysis of the coursebook sample. This chapter introduces the second part of the research design and explains how the remaining research questions and the moments of production, regulation and consumption on the ‘circuit of culture’ are to be addressed. It will be recalled that the first research question sought to identify the form cultural content has taken in ELT global coursebooks since the 1970s. The remaining research questions are: Why has cultural content taken this form?; What views do practising teachers hold about the nature of cultural content?; and, How do practising teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching?

The second question raises issues to do with the moments of production and regulation. As stated earlier, my approach to this question is through an analysis of guidelines for authors documents which have been drawn up by four major British ELT publishers. I also draw on a secondary data base of interviews with two publishing managers and two senior editors at one of Britain’s largest ELT publishers. These interviews were carried out as background to another study (see Gray 2002), and were designed to explore consideration of local – as opposed to global – issues in coursebooks aimed at the more differentiated secondary school market. As it emerged, I did not draw on them to any great extent in that study. However, they are drawn on here because much of what the publishers said can be seen as being directly relevant to this thesis, particularly with regard to the production and regulation of coursebook content. Firstly, they are indicative of how coursebook content is regulated by publishers; secondly, they shed light on the range of factors which inform the editorial decision making process; thirdly, they indicate the extent to which specific guidelines for inclusivity (see 6.2 below) impact on content generally; and fourthly, they shed light on areas of similarity and difference between coursebooks for different segments

of the global market. The interviews were conducted in 2000 and to protect their privacy, the informants, all of whom were interviewed separately, are referred to as Informants 1- 4 (see Table 6.1). In the interests of readability I have removed false starts, hesitations and repetitions in quotations from this data base. I have also added punctuation to the transcription (see sample interview in Appendix 10).

Informant/Date of interview		Role in publishing house
1	27/06/00	Senior Editor, Turkish/Greek market
2	as above	Senior Editor, Italian market
3	as above	Publishing Manager, Spanish/Portuguese market
4	as above	Publishing Manager, Central/Eastern European market

Table 6. 1 Details of publishers interviewed

The third and fourth research questions, which seek to address teachers' thinking on the subject of cultural content and to probe their views on the broader issue of the relationship between culture and English language teaching, raise issues related to the moment of consumption. The following sections provide fuller details on the approach to data collection and analysis.

6.2 Guidelines for authors documents

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, Littlejohn (1992) concluded that the relationship between the individual author and the ELT publisher is essentially that of an agent writing to an agenda determined by the publisher. This view was confirmed by my own experience of writing the teacher's book for a Spanish secondary school course. In one (admittedly extreme) instance, activities which I suggested were of limited pedagogic value were subsequently added by the editor during the editorial process after the manuscript had been handed over.

Apart from keeping a close editorial eye on writers and choosing those they believe will deliver the kind of material they want, publishers also provide writers with guidelines on content. These guidelines are of two types – the first concerns house style. Here potential authors are provided with information on spelling (e.g. whether to use –ize or –ise), abbreviations, use of capital letters, hyphenation, punctuation, how to write numbers, dates, names and titles. Cameron (1995: 39) argues convincingly that issues of style are far from trivial and are in fact symbolic of wider

concerns, which include *inter alia* the establishment of a recognisable brand image, and what she calls the perpetuation of ‘the illusion of a uniform standard language’.

The second type of guidelines is specifically related to carrier content and is of more concern in this study. These guidelines tend to cover two areas: what the publishers refer to as inclusivity and inappropriacy. The first refers to the representational practices to be adopted with regard to coursebook characters, the language used to describe them, and the related artwork. The second area covered by the guidelines refers to those topics which writers are advised to avoid so as not to offend the perceived sensibilities of potential buyers and readers.

The reason for looking at this type of documentary evidence as a means of exploring an answer to the second research question is because it is here that the publishers go on record, at least semi publicly, with regard to their requirements for content. My aim in this part of the thesis is to subject these texts to a close examination with a view to establishing clearly what these requirements are and to identify the discourses on which they draw. The approach to the guidelines for authors data can thus be categorised under the umbrella term of discourse analysis, understood in the terms outlined by Cameron and Markus (2002: 10) as one

which specifically sets out to describe the characteristics of texts and to relate them to the social contexts in which they are produced and interpreted.

Within the broad approach of discourse analysis Philips and Hardy (2002) have identified two main theoretical perspectives - those approaches which are essentially *critical* and concerned with issues of power and the unmasking of hidden agendas (e.g. critical discourse analysis and critical linguistic analysis) and those which are *constructivist* and more concerned with exploring the ways in which particular social realities are textually constructed (e.g. social linguistic analysis and interpretative structuralism). Following Philips and Hardy’s (ibid: 22) taxonomy of theoretical perspectives, that which is most appropriate here is social linguistic analysis which they define as having as its goal

a close reading of the text to provide insights into its organization and construction, and also to understand how texts organize and construct other phenomena.

It is this second point which is particularly relevant here given that the guidelines for authors are drawn up with the express intention of enabling their users to organize and construct other phenomena, namely ELT coursebooks for the global market. Philips and Hardy (ibid) point out that there are no simple templates for a successful discourse analysis approach. Rather, they suggest the approach each researcher takes will in part be determined by the aims of each specific study. Tonkiss (1998) argues for a data driven approach in which the tactics adopted for analysis are suggested by categories, themes, and representations suggested by the data themselves and it is this approach which I have adopted here.

The same approach is applied to the interviews I conducted with the publishers. Thus the data were subjected to a close reading with a view to establishing the ways in which the publishers represented themselves and their role in the production and regulation of cultural content. The epistemological status of interview data overall are discussed in 6.4 below.

In terms of my relationship with the publishers, I was known to one of them through my work on a previous project and it was through this connection that the other interviews were arranged. At his request I forwarded the interview schedule in advance of our meeting (see Appendix 7), and I made it clear that my interest was in finding out more about the ways in which teachers' local issues were taken into consideration in coursebooks produced for the secondary school market.

By way of background, I should also say that two of the guidelines for authors documents contained in Appendix 9 (a-e) were given to me by editors in response to my requests; one was sent to me by an editor when I was involved in a publishing project in the mid-1990s; and another was given to me by a colleague who has written ELT materials. These are referred to as Documents 1 - 4. Document 1 is dated 1988, Document 2 is dated 1990 and Document 3 is dated 1991. Document 4 is undated, but was sent to me by an editor as an email attachment in 2000. Given that the coursebooks in this study date from 1979-2003, I asked the same publishers in 2006 if these documents were still valid. The publishers of Document 4 did not reply, but the others confirmed that they were still being used, although in some cases with additions – hence the inclusion of an extract from Document 5 (which I refer to in Chapter 7).

Document /date of publication		Appendix
1	1988	9(a)
2	1990	9(b)
3	1991	9(c)
4	undated	9(d)
5	2006	9(e)

Table 6.2 Details of guidelines for authors documents

6.3 The audience research study

In Chapter 1 I first suggested the need for this thesis to incorporate an audience research study. Before proceeding further it is necessary to clarify exactly what is meant by the term in this context. Within the fields of cultural studies, media studies, communication studies, and branches of literary criticism a number of different terms have been used, occasionally interchangeably, to describe analyses of aspects of consumption or response – these include reception study (Machor & Goldstein 2001), audience research (Radway 1996), audience ethnography (Murphy 1999), uses-and-gratification study (McLeod & Becker 1981), and effects study (Machor & Goldstein 2001). It will be clear that some terms are more specific than others – for example, uses-and-gratifications studies have concerned themselves exclusively with the ‘how’ of consumption and the types of gratification consumers obtain, while other studies have concerned themselves with providing a ‘thick description’ of the type of audience who consume a product, or the ways in which audience subjectivities are constructed, at least partly, through acts of consumption. The effects studies tradition, viewed today with considerable circumspection in most fields, traditionally posited causal links between media content and audience behaviour.

My own interest, as stated earlier, lies in exploring the ways in which practising teachers make sense of cultural content in ELT coursebooks and by extension how they view the relationship between language teaching and culture more generally - particularly at a time when English is increasingly being taught as an international language. The aim is thus to explore the thinking of a group of primary consumers of a particular ‘cultural commodity’ (Apple 1985: 159) about the nature of that commodity and the wider context in which it is used. Although it has been suggested that ‘reception study’ is increasingly being used as the general term for studies concerned with different aspects of consumption and response (Machor and Goldstein

2001), it still remains closely associated with literary response. For this reason I have chosen to use the broader term of audience research study.

In many such studies it is often assumed that meaning does not reside exclusively in the text, but rather comes into existence only through the text being read or viewed. The idea that meaning might reside exclusively in the text and can simply be read off has been dismissed by Thompson (1990:306) as the ‘fallacy of internalism’. Others have taken the view that meaning is also external to the text – for example, Meinhof (1994: 12), whose work has largely been concerned with televisual representations and their reception, expresses the view that it is only when ‘recipients engage with the text using their own frameworks of interpretation, cultural knowledge and value systems that meaning is produced’.

It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that Hall (1980) posited a much more active role for the reader/viewer/consumer than had been the norm in media research. However, it could be argued, that while such a move was necessary, cultural studies did swing very far in the direction of an almost exclusive concern with meaning as entirely constructed at the moment of consumption. Kullman (2003, following Fairclough 1995) makes the point – and it is one that I accept - that the text itself has often been forgotten in the move towards studies in which the users are the primary focus. The ‘circuit of culture’ is in fact a useful corrective to this tendency. On this view meanings are seen as being dispersed across a series of processes, none of which is privileged. Thus an audience research study remains a necessity if the multiple meanings of the coursebook are to be explored. In the following section I turn to the issue of designing such a study.

6.3.1 *Methodology in audience research*

Studies in audience research from a cultural studies perspective have tended to concern themselves with the consumption of the products of popular culture – soap operas, romantic fiction, Hollywood films, television news programmes, and documentaries. It is important to point out that such studies do not imply any one data gathering instrument – although interviews have tended to feature heavily.

Ang’s (1985) study of why women watched *Dallas*, the North American television serial, was based on letters she received from viewers in response to an advertisement

placed in a women's magazine. Liebes and Katz's (1990) more in-depth study of the same programme involved video recordings of family interactions while watching the programme, group interviews, collective retelling of episodes, and questionnaires. Radway's (1984) study of a group of women readers of romantic fiction was similarly detailed and involved group interviews, individual interviews, informal chats with a 'reader' who made recommendations to other women, questionnaires, and a fieldwork journal. Richardson's (1994) study of audience responses to the screening of an episode of a six-part documentary about poverty in Britain involved group discussions with groups of single parents, workers in a Citizen's Advice Bureau, members of a Townswomen's Guild, a church group, and a youth group. These were recorded after each group had watched the same episode.

Richardson's study is also important here because of a similar overall approach to that adopted in this thesis. The audience response study carried out by Richardson is the companion piece to Meinhof's (1994) analysis of the same television series. Meinhof conducts what she calls a socio-semiotic analysis of the documentary which sets out

to explore the contributions of the verbal discourse, the images and the music to the significance of the programme as a whole (ibid: 11).

By complementing this with an audience response study, Meinhof and Richardson make the point that whatever the 'rhetoric' (ibid: 13) of the programme, no one type of analysis on its own is sufficient if the overall aim is to understand the text in all its complexity. In much the same way here, the descriptive framework which was advanced and applied earlier, is complemented by the audience research study of primary consumers.

Following these examples I made the decision to use interviews as the basis for the study. This represents a second modification of the 'circuit of culture' as applied in the Sony Walkman study (du Gay, Hall *et al.* 1997). There consumption was explored through an analysis of the representations of consumption of the Walkman in advertising texts and a previously existing marketing report – no consumers were consulted. In the following section I provide a rationale for my decision to use interviews and the background to the particular interview schedule used.

6.4 Interviews

The reasons for choosing interviews as the method for obtaining data for the audience research study are those generally advanced in their favour in qualitative research – namely, that they provide the researcher with an opportunity to probe informants in considerable depth; they are interactive in a way that questionnaires are not, and as such, they can be used to encourage informants to rise to the occasion; they can be designed (as in semi structured interviews) to allow the researcher a degree of flexibility with regard to the order in which questions are posed, thus allowing the interview to unfold more naturally; and finally, they allow informants the opportunity to make clarification requests (e.g. Bogdan & Bicklen 1992; Kvale 1996; Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000).

That said, it is important to state that interview data are not unproblematic. Following Kvale (1996), my own view of interviews is that they are a type of professional conversation where the outcome may be seen as a co-production of the researcher and the informant in interaction - in much the same way that the outcome of the language lesson is a co-production of the teacher and the students in interaction with materials (cf. Allwright 1981). The knowledge produced in such an interaction is thus emergent, contingent, socially situated, and problematic rather than 'given' or 'discovered'. In line with Kvale, I would argue that such knowledge is none the less useful on that account. Kvale's (ibid: 284) list of ten objections to qualitative interviews and his subsequent refutation of these are part of an argument against a positivist orientation which seeks, if not to eliminate the co-production factor from social scientific enquiry, then at best to minimise it. I will not rehearse Kvale's ten point case here - suffice it to say that the issue is essentially epistemological. From the perspective of Kvale's postmodernist position issues such as bias, generalizability, validity, and reliability do not cease to matter - rather they become elements which have to be dealt with in non-positivist terms. Take just one example - the charge that interview outcomes may vary depending on who conducts the interview. On this view different researchers will contribute to the production of different interviews and therefore gain different results. Kvale (ibid: 287) accepts this – as do I - but argues that the way to deal with the issue is not to try and reduce the role of the interviewer but instead to recognise the key part she or he may play as 'a primary methodological tool' and to look instead at issues of

craftsmanship, empathy, and knowledge as the basis for evaluating the knowledge produced. Such views resonate with those of Hall (1992c: 12), who made the case for judging research within a constructionist paradigm on the basis of the 'systematic, rigorous, coherent, comprehensive, conceptually clear, well-evidenced' nature of the accounts which were produced.

Block (1995:36) also seeks to problematize research interviews arguing that such data cannot be regarded as a 'clean window on the mind' and that, at best, 'they represent a dirty one, clear enough to allow us some insight into what makes individuals think, but grimy enough to prevent us from ever seeing all'. Block identifies four possible constraints on interviews which he suggests researchers need to consider: the social construction of the interviewer by the interviewee; power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewee; the fact that the interviewee may perform for the interviewer; and finally, what he calls the nature of discourse processes whereby the interviewee may use the interview to construct her/himself in a particular way.

On examination the second two of these may be less problematic than on first appearance. It is true that some interviewees may use the interview as an opportunity to show off to the researcher and choose to perform rather than merely inform. There is, it seems to me, some overlap here between this possible feature of interview data and the fact that informants may also use the interview format to present themselves to the researcher in a certain way. Such behaviour could be used to challenge the veridical nature of interview data in the sense that informants may not necessarily speak the literal truth about their experiences, activities, or beliefs. However, and this is a point Block (1998) subsequently makes, such performance/self-presentation takes place within the constraints of the particular type of research interview being conducted. In the case of this research, informants are constrained to speak as members of a particular discourse community, namely as English language teachers. They can only adopt voices which are plausible for members of that community to adopt. As Block (ibid: 152) states

any statement provided by an informant from a particular community which conforms to a particular *Discourse* [...] may be classified as the kind of thing which one is allowed to say in that community and within that *Discourse*, and is therefore data representative of that community.

Thus it can be argued that what we hear in interviews with teachers are voices from a discourse community speaking plausible truths rather than individuals in confessional mode speaking literal truths. Such an outcome though can hardly be held to invalidate interview data.

On the other hand, Block's (1995) first two constraints are much more problematic and need to be addressed before the interviews take place. How my informants saw me (possibilities include 'native speaker' teacher, representative of Anglophone ELT, teacher trainer, materials writer, ex-colleague who was doing a PhD), and the possibility that they might perceive a power imbalance between us were issues uppermost in my mind when I devised the interview schedule. In the following section I outline how I tried to minimize the possible negative consequences of the first two constraints postulated by Block through the construction of what I have called an activity-based interview schedule.

6.4.1 *Activity-based interviews*

When setting out to construct an interview schedule appropriate for this study I was influenced by a number of factors. The first of these lay in the fact that a number of scholars have suggested that teachers often lack a vocabulary to talk about culture in anything other than very general terms (Adamowski 1991; Lessard-Clouston 1996; Byram & Risager 1999). Certainly the interview data recorded by Ryan (1994) as part of an in-depth study on the role of culture in ELT conducted among teachers in Mexico would confirm this in my view. A second consideration was based on the initial response I received from some ex-colleagues at the institution where I worked in Barcelona to requests for an interview, which I explained would last somewhere in the region of forty-five minutes to an hour. Some teachers said they felt they would have nothing of interest to say and made it clear that they viewed a lengthy interview on issues relating to cultural content in ELT coursebooks with some trepidation. And finally the first two constraints mentioned by Block (1995) were also uppermost in my mind. All these factors can be summarised as follows: a lack of vocabulary for talking about culture; feelings of anxiety about having nothing to say in the interview; the social construction of the interviewer by the interviewee; and finally, power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewee.

I decided to deal with the first two of these at the pre-interview stage. Following Lessard-Clouston (1996) I was concerned that the teachers I interviewed should be exposed to a vocabulary for discussing culture before the interviews took place. That way, I concluded, the teachers would have had time to consider their views in the light of this vocabulary. One of the simplest such vocabularies is that provided by Adaskou *et al.* (1990) in their 'four senses of culture' framework. This had the advantage of having been devised for designing coursebook cultural content for use in an EFL setting – nominally the same type of teaching and learning context in which the interviews for this study were to be carried out. The idea was not to impose this vocabulary on informants – rather it was simply to expose them to it and then provide them with an opportunity to accept, modify or reject it. My hope was that this would provide some degree of orientation to the interview itself and that it might act as a trigger for thoughts and opinions about coursebook content and about the relationship between culture and ELT more generally.

My initial plan was to give the informants the Adaskou *et al.* (1990) paper to read. That way they would have been exposed not only to a vocabulary for talking about culture, but also to a particular position on what kind of cultural content the authors considered appropriate for coursebooks in an EFL context. The interviews could have revolved around their responses to the vocabulary and the various points made in the paper. On reflection this seemed too great an imposition on the teachers' time. It was also too risky a strategy - as failure to read the paper could have caused teachers who had initially agreed to an interview to drop out of the study. I opted instead for a summary of the 'four senses of culture' framework. Each teacher who agreed to do an interview was given the following interview orientation form at least a week before the interview took place. In addition, it was hoped any possible feelings of anxiety about the interview might be attenuated by providing teachers with such information in advance.

Culture and English language teaching

Adaskou, K., B. Britten, & B. Fashi (1990) suggest there are four ways of looking at culture in teaching English as a foreign language. These are:

1. the aesthetic sense (e.g. information about the cinema, music, literature)
2. the sociological sense (e.g. information about the nature of family, home life, interpersonal relations, leisure activities, customs)
3. the semantic sense (e.g. words like 'cosy', the difference between dinner, tea, and supper, a bank holiday weekend, that is words or concepts that relate to a particular way of life)
4. the pragmatic sense (e.g. information about social and paralinguistic skills that make successful communication possible: exponents for communicative functions, norms of politeness, rhetorical conventions in writing)

For the interview:

Which of the above senses are most important for you in your teaching?

Rank the senses in order of importance.

For the interview:

Bring two pieces of coursebook material to talk about – one which has implicit or explicit cultural content which you approve of, and one which has implicit or explicit cultural content which you disapprove of.

Fig. 6.1 Activity-based interview orientation form

The request to consider which of the four senses of culture were most important in their teaching and the ranking activity were essentially to encourage teachers to think about their own views prior to the interview. The fact that such an exercise might prove impossible or that teachers might reject the framework and the vocabulary was viewed as a possible, although not necessarily undesirable, outcome. As McKay (2002) points out, the framework is designed on the assumption that students are learning English with a view to interacting with 'native speakers' rather than for lingua franca purposes with other L2 speakers.

The specific inclusion of a selection and a ranking activity as part of the interview orientation relates to what I have referred to earlier as an activity-based approach. I have avoided using the word 'task' on account of its association with task-based learning and the rationalized outcome-focused view of communication which it may be said to imply (e.g. Block 2002). This approach was carried through into the design of the interview schedule itself. The rationale for such an approach was twofold. Firstly,

by designing an interview schedule around familiar activities of the type used by teachers with their students (e.g. ranking exercises, true/false statements, responding to information/pictures on card etc.) it was hoped that the interview would be seen by those who agreed to participate as less threatening than one which revolved solely around questions and answers. Secondly, by inviting teachers to bring materials of their own choosing for discussion as part of the interview my aim was to allow them the opportunity to directly take charge of the conversation, at least for part of the time.

6.4.2 Activity design

Having decided on an activity-based approach the next step was to decide on which aspects of coursebook content to address in the activities. Inevitably I had to be selective and in this I was influenced partly by my own reading of the relevant literature. Given that the interviews aimed to explore teacher thinking on cultural content in ELT coursebooks it followed that such material would have to occupy a large part of the interview. In addition to inviting informants to bring two pieces of material to the interview I included a further two. Before deciding on which material to include, I decided to invite the informants to participate in a group interview with a view to exploring informally key issues in their thinking about cultural content.

As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggest, group interviews are a useful way for a researcher to explore issues of concern to a group which can be explored in greater depth in subsequent one-to-one interviews. In fact only five informants were free to participate and all were ex-colleagues from the institution where I had previously worked. The format of the interview was as follows: I began by asking the participants to brainstorm all the words they associated with the term 'culture' on a piece of paper. After two or three minutes I asked them to compare their lists and then to tell the group the initial three words they had noted down (see 8.3). I then asked them if they felt there was a cultural dimension to English language teaching and, if so, what they thought it was. My contribution from that point on took the form mainly of clarification requests. Such an approach clearly indicates that the interview was largely unstructured. As Cohen *et al.* (2000: 270) point out

the more one wishes to acquire unique, non-standardized, personalized information about how individuals view the world, the more one veers towards qualitative, open-ended, unstructured interviewing.

The ensuing conversation, which lasted about thirty minutes, and in which I did not contribute my own opinions raised two issues. The first of these was the problematic nature of stereotypical representations (mainly to do with race) and how these should be addressed in the classroom. The second concerned the extent to which teachers were involved in teaching ‘British culture’ when they taught certain genres such as business letters. One participant made the point that perhaps it might be more appropriate for a Spanish person writing in English to an Italian colleague to use the rhetorical conventions of Spanish writing (perceived to be ‘less direct and more flowery’) than the style favoured in a British business letter (see Appendix 11 for extract from group interview). As I explain below, both these issues fed into the design of the activity-based interview.

My exploratory study (Gray 2000) had suggested that stereotypical representations of Britain and other countries were a feature of coursebooks which teachers sometimes found problematic and consequently chose not to use. Conversely, as we saw in Chapter 2, those commentators subscribing to a Humboldtian view of language teaching and learning see stereotypical representations as a useful starting point for enabling students to begin to relativize their worldview. For this reason, and in line with the concerns raised above, the first piece of material I chose for the activity-based interview was taken from *Headway Intermediate* (Soars & Soars 1986) and was entitled ‘The average British family: A stereotype’ (see Appendix 8[a]). By including this I hoped to trigger thoughts on the issue of working with stereotypical representations in coursebooks, which I hypothesised might be of concern to teachers more generally.

The second piece of material I selected was a controlled practice activity from *Cutting Edge* (Cunningham & Moor 1998). In this exercise students are asked to rewrite a series of requests so that they are more polite (see Appendix 8[b]). This choice was triggered by the comments about the relevance of teaching a ‘native speaker’ style of writing for lingua franca communication and was an opportunity to allow informants to respond to the charge made by Byram (1997) that the currently dominant paradigm

in language teaching aims to produce an ersatz 'native speaker'. One area in which this could be said to occur is in the teaching of politeness strategies which are modelled on 'native speaker' pragmatic norms. McKay (2002: 74) argues that 'there is no inherent reason why a native speaker model should inform the teaching of pragmatics in EIL' and she goes on to suggest that some studies suggest that not conforming to 'native speaker' norms can actually make more pragmatic sense. This piece of material, it was hoped, might also trigger informants' thoughts on the role of the 'native speaker' as a model in ELT more generally.

This phase was then followed by a number of statements on card which were designed to encourage informants to respond as students do to true/false statements. The statements were as follows:

1. Teaching language is teaching culture (Kramsch 1993: 177).
2. In teaching English we can impart to learners not only the present perfect, but also the power of knowing and caring about the world they live in (Prodromou 1992: 49).
3. The kind of English contained in coursebooks can be called 'cosmopolitan English' because it 'assumes a materialistic set of values in which international travel, not being bored, positively being entertained, having leisure, and above all, spending money casually and without consideration of the sum involved in the pursuit of these ends, are the norm' (Brown 1990: 13)
4. In ELT coursebooks students are positioned at the receiving end of a one way flow of information (based on Alptekin & Alptekin 1984: 15).

These statements were designed to explore issues, some of which have already been discussed. Statement 1 was designed to explore teacher thinking on the role of culture in ELT generally. Statement 2 aimed to explore the teachers' views on the charge of a perceived lack of an educational dimension in much ELT material (an essential component in the Humboldtian view of language teaching and learning referred to earlier). Statement 3 aimed to explore the materialistic values which it has been argued are associated with English in textbooks (Dendrinos 1992; Hyde 1994; Pennycook 1994; Canagarajah 1999). Finally, Statement 4 was designed to investigate the charge made by Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) that the absence of any serious

cross-cultural dimension meant that students were given little opportunity to respond to the content of the coursebook from their own cultural perspective.

The completed schedule for the interviews took the following form: a short introductory phase in which I elicited biographical details, explained the format of the interview, and then invited the informant to respond to the interview orientation task. This was followed by a second phase in which the informants showed me their pieces of material and explained why they had brought them along. In the third phase I introduced two pieces of coursebook material discussed above and invited the informants to respond to them. In the fourth phase, informants were given the set of statements on card about culture and language teaching and asked to respond to them. The fifth and final phase of the interview was a cooling down stage in which I asked a few general questions about the informants' use of such material over the course of their professional career and/or returned to any issues raised during the interview which I felt needed further exploration.

6.4.3 Analysis of data

The standard way of analysing interview data is for the researcher to sift repeatedly through the transcripts and to identify the emerging themes. These are then presented as data findings. However, I made the decision to modify this procedure here and to analyse the emerging themes as they related to the activities. The reason for this originates in my subscription to Kvale's (1996) view of the research interview as a co-production – generally involving the researcher as a 'primary methodological tool' (ibid: 287) in interaction with the informant. Furthermore, the interviews in this study include a set of mediating tools, which, in the Vygotskian sense (see Daniels 2005: 8-11), may be said to significantly affect the themes which emerged and the ways in which they did so. In fact, the activities can be seen as providing a basis on which the informants *frame* their responses. Gumperz (1992: 41), following Goffman (1974), states, that 'framing is part of the chunking process by which we segment off what we see as belonging together' and may be said to 'constitute the ground against which the communication takes place' – thus the activities, I would suggest, are key both to what informants say and to the interpretations which are presented in Chapter 8. By dealing with the data in this way I believe I am being more faithful to the nature of what was

said and to the sometimes circulatory, contradictory and progressively nuanced thinking which the interviews produced. In the following section I describe the informants and how they were selected.

6.5 Informants

The activity-based interviews were all conducted with EFL teachers working in the Barcelona area in the spring and summer of 1999.⁶ The reason for my choice of location was determined by the fact that I had worked there as a teacher for many years and it was a setting in which I had easy access to a large population of teachers - both 'native speakers' and L1 Spanish speakers. In addition, the Spanish market for British ELT materials in both the state school and the adult learning sector is known to be large, so the teachers I interviewed may be said to represent a significant group of global coursebook users worldwide.

The teachers in this study all worked in the adult learning sector. Eight were ex-colleagues from the institution in which I had previously worked. Six were from a state funded language school; five from different university language centres and three were from privately run language schools. I interviewed twenty-two teachers - twelve of whom were 'native speakers' and ten of whom were L1 Spanish speakers. All had taught for a minimum of five years and thus they may be said to represent an experienced group of ELT practitioners.

Mindful of the constraints identified by Block (1995) I approached all those teachers I did not know personally through mutually known third parties - very much in the 'friend of a friend' role adopted by Milroy (1980) in her Belfast sociolinguistic study. In approaching the teachers thus I hoped that I would be seen as a fellow teacher they might be prepared to speak to on account of a shared acquaintance. This tactic was successful and no-one I approached refused to do an interview. I also offered all the L1 Spanish speakers the option of conducting the interview in Spanish - a format in

⁶ The interview data could thus be open to the charge of being out of date. However, I do not think this is the case. What a group of experienced practitioners had to say about cultural content and the relationship between culture and ELT at a particular historical moment remains valid. The study is historical and the coursebooks analysed date from 1979-2003. The direction in which coursebooks are headed, as suggested by the changes to the *New Edition New Headway* (Soars and Soars 2003), are all the more interesting in the light of teachers' thinking as revealed in the interviews.

which I would have had to perform the L2 speaker role and thus might have been perceived as being at a disadvantage. This was an option none of the teachers chose to take.

All informants have been given pseudonyms to protect their privacy and no institutions have been mentioned by name. Informants were offered the opportunity to read the transcripts of their interviews and have sections removed if they wished. No-one availed of this offer. Table 6.3 provides background details about each teacher.

Name/ Date of interview	Country of origin	Qualifications	Years of service	Type of institution
Caroline 17/06/99	Ireland	BA; CTEFLA ⁷	13	Private language school (part of worldwide network of schools)
Gary 07/05/99	UK	CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA ⁸	9	As above
Janet 21/05/99	UK	English language teaching certificate; Dip. TEFLA; Teacher training certificate	18	As above
Judy 18/06/99	Australia	Diploma of Teaching; BEd; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA	9	As above
Karen 08/06/99	UK	BA; CTEFLA	15	As above
Max 02/06/99	Switzerland/ USA	BA; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA	23	As above
Melissa 07/06/99	UK	BA; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA	14	As above
Robert 17/05/99	UK	Certificate of Teaching; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA; MA TEFL	20	As above
Bob 13/05/99	USA	BSc; Dip. TEFLA	14	University language centre
Edward 12/05/99	UK	BA; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA	13	As above
Clare 21/05/99	USA	BA; MA TESOL	18	As above
Jennifer 16/06/99	Australia	BA; Diploma of Education; CTEFLA; Dip. TEFLA	18	As above

⁷ Cambridge Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults

⁸ Cambridge Diploma in English language Teaching to Adults

Rosa 31/05/99	Spain	Degree; Diploma of English Studies; CAP ⁹ ; PhD	7	As above
Eulàlia 11/05/99	Spain	Degree; Oposición ¹⁰ ; CTFLA; MA in Spanish as a Foreign Language	15	State language school for adults
Isabel 03/06/99	Spain	Degree; Oposición	7	As above
Marc 22/05/99	Spain	Degree; Oposición; CAP	9	As above
Marta 06/05/99	Spain	Degree; MA in Spanish as a Foreign Language; Oposición	22	As above
Montse 01/06/99	Spain	Degree; Oposición	10	As above
Pilar 01/06/99	Spain	Degree; Oposición	26	As above
Jaime 28/05/99	Peru	Degree; CAP; Diploma of English Studies	20	Private language school (local institution)
Josep 29/04/99	Spain	Degree; CTEFLA	10	As above
Pere 06/05/99	Spain	Degree; Dip. TEFLA	12	As above

Table 6.3 Details of teachers interviewed

The teachers' interview data are analysed and discussed in Chapter 8. Following Byram and Risager (199), when an informant is first mentioned in the analysis, the name is followed by country of origin and years of service.

6.6 Conclusion

With this I conclude the outline and the rationale of the second part of the research design. Specifically I have made the case for analysing the publishers' guidelines for authors documents, supported by a secondary data base of interviews with publishers, as a means of answering the second research question and exploring the dimensions of production and regulation on the 'circuit of culture'. I then made the case for an

⁹ The Catalan Certificat d'Aptitud Pedagògica is an educational skills certificate

¹⁰ Civil service examination granting a teacher a permanent place in a state educational institution

audience research study based around interviews as a means of answering the third and fourth research questions and exploring the dimension of consumption on the 'circuit of culture. I provided a rationale for the activity-based interview schedule and an account of how the schedule was designed. I concluded with an overview of the informants and the context in which the audience research was conducted.

CHAPTER 7

PRODUCTION AND REGULATION OF CONTENT

7.1 Introduction

In Chapters 4 and 5 I sought to answer the first research question through the identification of the representational repertoires constructed in a sample of British ELT global coursebooks. In this chapter I turn my attention to the second research question – Why has cultural content taken this form? This involves addressing the processes and practices associated with the moments of production and regulation. Production, it will be recalled, is concerned with the ways in which artefacts are designed, produced and marketed, while regulation considers the factors which govern the circulation of meanings associated with them.

To enable me to address the question, the chapter is structured in two distinct parts. In the first part I analyse the guidelines for authors produced by four leading British ELT publishers as these contain explicit recommendations with regard to the type of content to be included in coursebooks. This data set is complemented by interviews with two publishing managers and two commissioning editors at one of the largest British ELT publishing houses. In an attempt to provide a fuller and more socially situated answer to the research question, the second part of the chapter opens into a discussion in which I argue that the literatures on visual communication (Berger 1972; Schroeder 2002), consumerism (Featherstone 1991; Baudrillard 1998), the commodification of social issues (Goldman 1992; Tinic 1997; Benwell & Stokoe 2006), and promotional culture (Wernick 1991) have considerable explanatory power. As part of my argument I refer again to the representational repertoires identified earlier.

7.2 Guidelines for authors

Many ELT publishers provide their authors with sets of guidelines regarding content. These have tended to address two areas: inclusive language and inappropriate topics. The first of these refers predominantly to the need for a non-sexist approach to the

ways in which women and men are represented (both linguistically and visually) throughout the coursebook, while the second refers to those topics which writers are advised to avoid so as not to offend the perceived sensibilities of potential buyers and users. As we shall see, the emphasis given to these two areas appears to have changed over time, with concerns about potential buyers and users assuming greater importance.

As a genre, the type of document analysed here may be said to originate in the response of female ELT professionals to studies which showed that women were under-represented, trivialized and stereotyped in British and North American teaching materials (e.g. Hartman & Judd, 1978; Hill, 1980; Porreca, 1984). A group known as Women in EFL Materials, itself an off-shoot of Women in TEFL which was formed in 1986 to improve the status of women within the field, was responsible for drawing up guidelines for the representational practices to be followed in the production of ELT materials. The rationale for the guidelines states that they aim to address two issues: the extent to which negative representations of women might adversely affect female students (causing them, it is suggested, to learn less effectively), and the fact that recent language change in English reflected a move away from gender bias. The guidelines, which were entitled *On Balance: Guidelines for the Representation of Women and Men in English Language Teaching Materials* (reproduced in Sunderland 1994: 112-120), make it clear that fairness and balance should also apply to representations of age, class, ethnic origin and disability. These were accepted by the British ELT Publishers Association and in turn were taken up by individual ELT publishers (often the same women) and organizations such as the British Council who produced their own in-house versions. Florent *et al.* (1994) explain that the guidelines were based on over four hundred responses to a questionnaire sent to schools, universities, British-based publishers, materials writers and examination boards worldwide. The influence the *On Balance* guidelines were to have on ELT publishers is instanced by the often identical wording in the in-house documents which form the main data base for this section of the thesis.

Such documents, at least as far as inclusive language is concerned, are not unique to ELT (see Cameron 1995; Pauwels 1998). In fact, since the 1970s they have become prevalent internationally in many publishing houses, universities, professional

associations, and global organizations. Pauwels (ibid) shows that early examples of such guidelines were produced in the US for publishing companies with substantial education lists. This is hardly surprising given the role that educational institutions may be said to play in the socialization of students and the (re)production of what Cameron (1994: 27) refers to as 'sexist ideology'. The normative practices such guidelines recommend can be understood as examples of feminist language reform (Pauwels 1998), and, as Cameron (1995) points out, they have often provoked controversy and resistance. A sustained attack by Hughes (1993) argued that such practices were predicated on little more than substituting one word for another. However, as Cameron (1995) states, no-one involved in this kind of language planning has claimed the world can be made to change *solely* by changing words. But changing words has been seen by many feminists – and many teachers, myself included - as a starting point for wider social change. With this in mind I now turn to the documents themselves with a view to analysing more closely the reasons advanced for, and the precise nature of, the normativity being advocated for ELT materials writers.

7.2.1 *Inclusive language*

Inclusive language is explicitly addressed in Documents 1-3 (see Appendices 9[a] – 9[c]). Of these, Documents 1 and 2 are the most substantial in terms of detail and length and both begin with a short rationale. Document 1 states that the guidelines have been drawn up 'in response to increasing concern over discriminatory language' and that they are 'not prescriptive but reflect the current attitudes and trends in the ELT world'. Document 2 begins by saying that a 'significant and growing number of people are concerned about sexism in language' – thereby implying that the guidelines are a response to this concern. The *On Balance* guidelines similarly suggested that they reflected language change in society and that it was therefore incumbent on ELT publishers not to present students with an outdated version of English. Elsewhere (Gray 2002: 159) I have suggested that such claims are somewhat disingenuous – on the grounds that incorporating language change is indicative of a stance being taken on a contested political issue and that teaching language change necessarily entails promoting language change. What I did not consider was why the authors should seek to present their activities in this light. Pauwels' (1998) survey of

one hundred and thirty six sets of international guidelines revealed a remarkable similarity of content and structure. One feature was a tendency to introduce guidelines as advice rather than as a set of prescriptions. Pauwels concluded her survey by outlining the recommended stages for drafting non-sexist language guidelines. She pointed out that the readership of guidelines may not always be as fully apprised of the issues as the writers, and for this reason it was advisable to avoid a didactic tone, and to provide a clear rationale for proposed changes with examples of language to be avoided and alternatives to be used instead. In the same way, by presenting recommendations as *reflecting* rather than *promoting* language change, it could also be argued that the guidelines stood a better chance of acceptance by potentially resistant elements of the readership.

That said, Document 3 eschews any attempt at persuasive rhetoric and begins by stating: 'We are committed to making every effort to exclude racism, sexism and stereotyping from our books'. The use of the plural pronoun 'we', which runs throughout the document, suggests agreed company policy on these issues and there is no sense of the case for inclusive language being made to the readership. Such an approach is congruent with Littlejohn's (1992) conclusion that ELT writers were essentially agents writing to an agenda set for them by the publishers. Here they are being told what the rules are, and indeed Document 3 is aimed exclusively at materials writers and contains additional information on house style, copyright permission, etc. Documents 1 and 2, on the other hand, are also explicitly directed at a wider audience of in-house colleagues, such as editors and designers for whom advice and explanation may be deemed pragmatically more appropriate.

All three documents cover in greater or lesser detail the following issues: the visibility of women in materials; the avoidance of stereotypical characteristics and jobs associated with women and men; honorific titles for women and the avoidance of sexist terms to describe women; the avoidance of masculine generics and those lexical items for which more appropriate gender neutral terms exist. These issues can be seen as fundamental to the feminist movement which characterized many western societies throughout the 1970s and 1980s and it is no surprise that Document 2 includes Spender's (1980) influential *Man Made Language* on its list of titles for further reading. On the issue of visibility Documents 1 and 2 make the point that women

comprise over half the population. Both are explicit about the implications of this for ELT publishing and are worth quoting at length. Document 1 states:

Try to maintain a 50/50 balance between the sexes – numerically and in terms of the significance and prominence of the activity illustrated. This balance is not achieved by having photos that are predominantly male in the same book with line drawings that are predominantly female.

Document 2 expresses a similar position as follows:

Over half the population is female. To provide a balanced view of the world this must be reflected in our text books. It is important therefore to keep track of the numbers of male and female characters in the text, illustrations and recordings. Even though a simple headcount is not enough, it is a basis for ensuring a fair representation of the world.

However, although prescriptiveness is denied or elided in the introductions to Documents 1 and 2, the essentially normative nature of *all* the guidelines is immediately apparent. These quotations alone contain the imperative ‘try’, the modal verb ‘must’, two evaluative statements containing ‘[i]t is important’, and ‘is not enough’, and two categorical assertions – ‘is not achieved’, and ‘it is a basis’. It will be recalled that modality is a facility of language whereby the writer’s/speaker’s ‘stance’ vis-à-vis the truth claims or the degree of obligation contained in the message is signalled (Hodge & Kress 1988: 122). Evaluative statements and categorical assertions are likewise indicative of authorial stance (Simpson 1993; Fairclough 2003). In fact, despite the advisory tone adopted in some introductions, all three sets of guidelines are written almost entirely in the language of obligation, using mainly imperatives and modalized statements. Fairclough (2003) points out that deontic modality – i.e. that which refers to obligation/necessity, is signalled not only through specific modality markers (e.g. modal verbs, adverbs etc.), but can also be expressed through imperative structures. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 below provide a selection of examples from Documents 1-3, many of which are repeated word for word from one set of guidelines to another.

... do not	attribute characteristics, occupations or exclusively subservient roles to women, for example, hysterical woman driver, devoted secretary, fragile flower
Seek characters	who embody a range of human potential
Remember	that men can suffer from unrealistic sexual stereotyping too
Allow women	to be praised for boldness, initiative, assertiveness to exhibit the above characteristics as often as men to exhibit self-control
Avoid	showing men always being unable to respond emotionally
Show women	participating actively and positively in worthwhile and exciting pursuits
Show men	caring for children and competently completing household tasks
Avoid	implying that the emotional life of a family suffers because a woman works outside the home
Avoid	describing women according to marital status unless relevant to the topic under discussion, treat them as people in their own right

Table 7.1 Examples of imperative structures in Documents 1-3

In similar vein, the selection of modalized statements below provides further evidence of the overall prescriptivism of the guidelines. The range of modal verbs deployed shows precisely where writers are offered some degree of freedom – for example, while it is incumbent on them to break with job stereotyping, they are under no obligation to show men specifically as nurses or women as plumbers.

Members of both sexes should	be represented as whole human beings with human strengths and weaknesses
An attempt should	be made to break job stereotypes for both women and men
...it should never	be implied that certain jobs are incompatible with a woman's 'femininity' or man's 'masculinity'
Women should not	be identified by their physical characteristics while men are defined by mental attributes or jobs
... a woman can	win an important election and display love for her children
... women as well as men can	be shown as accountants, engineers, pilots, plumbers, computer operators and astronauts
... men as well as women can	be shown as nurses, primary school teachers, secretaries, typists, librarians, filing clerks, switchboard operators and child minders

Table 7.2 Examples of modalized statements in Documents 1-3

With regard to honorific titles for women, all three documents mention 'Ms' as an alternative to 'Miss' and 'Mrs' for avoiding reference to marital status. Document 2 also mentions the need to avoid the term 'Dear Sir/s' as a salutation in a letter and suggests 'Dear Sir or Madam' or 'Dear Madam or Sir' as alternatives – adding that these are 'acceptable usage for EFL exams' - a remark which implies that the guidelines have been accepted by examination boards. Documents 1-3 also suggest avoiding introducing women in terms of their husband (e.g. wife of ...), or as if they were possessions - 'John and his wife, Elsie' is the example provided.

As noted by Pauwels (1998), most specifically linguistic suggestions are at the level of pronoun use and individual lexemes (mainly words involving the affix ‘man’) – rather than at the level of syntax (e.g. the use of the passive to hide agency).

Documents 1-3 provide lists of items to avoid and gender-neutral alternatives. In line with the *On Balance* approach, Document 2 prefaces this section with a rationale:

It has been supposed that the word ‘man’ and other male generics include women. It has, however, been demonstrated that people do not make this assumption automatically. When told that ‘man needs food and shelter to survive’ the great majority of people visualise only men ...

This is most probably a reference to Silviera (1980), whose research suggested that ‘native speakers’ of English did not interpret generic uses of ‘man’ to include women. All three documents also suggest avoiding generic uses of ‘he’ and ‘his’, with Document 2 citing Caxton and Shakespeare as historical precedents in support of ‘they’ and ‘their’ as gender neutral singular pronouns. Document 1 somewhat tentatively asks readers to ‘consider the effect’ of teaching ‘man’-based lexemes on students – without explicitly suggesting that this may cause them to think they apply only to men. The *On Balance* guidelines suggested somewhat more explicitly that under-representation and/or demeaning representations of women might adversely affect female students. Writers such as Mannheim (1994) and Sunderland (1994) have subsequently made a stronger case for the negative effects of sexist materials on learning opportunities for female students.

In addition to these similarities there are also some minor differences. For example, Document 1 suggests that illustrations should feature ‘all physical types and occasional evidence of physical handicaps, avoiding stereotyped associations with these images’. Document 2 also makes the point that sexism can be difficult to avoid in instances where there is direct quotation from original sources. It is suggested that the effect can be lessened by paraphrasing quotations, putting sexist terms in brackets, using ‘[sic]’, or partially quoting from the original. Finally, Document 3 is different from the others in that it includes a section entitled ‘inappropriacy’. And it is to this second strand in the publishers’ guidelines that I turn in the following section.

7.2.2 *Inappropriate topics*

Topics which coursebook writers are advised to avoid are generally referred to within ELT publishing by the acronym PARSNIP (politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, isms, and pork) (OUP, personal communication, 2000; see also the elaboration of the term by a publisher in Appendix 9 (e)). Guidelines for inappropriate content are different from guidelines governing representational practices and inclusive language - while the latter may have the stated aim of reflecting language change, excluding stereotypical representations, and improving learning opportunities for female students, the former are based on customers' perceived sensitivities. In fact, Documents 3 and 4 refer exclusively to 'markets' rather than to 'students', reflecting I would suggest an increasing concern with sales in an extremely competitive market.

Document 3 is unique in that it combines a list of over twenty topics to avoid alongside guidelines for inclusive language, while Document 4 consists entirely of terms to avoid and topics to be approached with 'cultural sensitivity'. The fact that Document 4 does not include guidelines for inclusivity does not mean that such issues are perceived to be no longer important – the interview data in 7.3 below shows that this continues to be an issue for publishers. However, it may be an indication that such practices are now so widespread within ELT publishing that editors automatically expect the material they commission to be acceptable in this area (a point made by materials writer Norman Whitney, personal communication 1999).

Document 1 states that 'most subjects are acceptable' in books produced for the 'UK and northern European markets' but that great care has to be taken when considering 'more conservative and religious markets'. This contrast between geographical and socio-political/religious markets is significant as it constructs the world beyond the UK and northern Europe in terms of a set of perceived sensitivities and a range of topics which cannot be mentioned explicitly. That said, geographical areas within such markets are sometimes mentioned - for example, Document 1 lists 'alcohol', 'Israel and six pointed stars', 'nudes and flesh', and 'pork' as inappropriate for the Middle East. Document 2 introduces a section on 'countries and names' in which the modality markers clearly signal the high level of publisher commitment to particular representations:

When using names of countries and nationalities, the sensitivities of those countries and regions **must** always be taken into account. The following examples represent typical areas where great care **must** be taken (bold added).

In the ensuing examples writers are advised to use ‘developing countries’ instead of ‘underdeveloped or third world countries’, ‘East Asia’ instead of ‘the Far East’ and the ‘USA’ instead of ‘America’ (which, it is noted, includes South America). Interestingly, writers are also told to use ‘Native American names for legendary figures, e.g. Tashunca-Uitco, not Crazy Horse’. In fact, all examples of this type refer to Native Americans and the Inuit, suggesting that the sensitivities of US teachers may be the concern here. Whatever the reason, we can assume that the use of Native American terms for named individuals is congruent with a liberal/pluralist multiculturalist approach to representation. As we shall see below, publishers’ sensitivities to even small sectors of the market can be acute and the tendency is to err on the side of caution.

Document 4 also includes sections entitled: Style of dress; Religion; Friendship between sexes; Smoking and drinking; Topics likely to be taboos in most countries; and Household pets. Each is followed by a list of questions, e.g.: ‘Is tight or revealing clothing acceptable in all target markets?’, ‘Are men and women allowed to work together in all the target markets?’, ‘Are animals allowed in buildings in all markets?’ These questions serve simply to raise issues which writers are advised to consider. The guidelines state that doubts about any aspect of content should be thoroughly checked by writers. While guidelines on inappropriate topics are mainly concerned with perceived sensitivities within the market, Document 4 also points out that artwork ‘must be thoroughly checked for any items that may prove incomprehensible’ – hence (presumably) the reference to pets, which in some markets may not share accommodation with human beings.

A final note on sensitivity to markets – as explained in Chapter 6 I approached the publishers in 2006 for an update on their current policies. The publishers of Document 3 have since been taken over by another company and their original guidelines have been incorporated, in some cases word for word, into a new document dated 2006. The relevant page is reproduced in Appendix 9 (e) as Document 5. The new document

contains fourteen pages on issues to consider when producing books aimed at the North American market. The following quotation indicates the extent of current sensitivity:

Law and politics: Along with religion, treat these topics very cautiously. Issues of public order can be difficult, **as can anything too controversial that might portray America in a negative light.** For example, a piece on the ‘Guardian Angels’ (the vigilante group that has as a mission the protection of people on the subway) has been criticized for making it look as if the police can’t control crime and encouraging people to take the law into their own hands (emphasis added).

The publishers of Document 2, while still using the 1990 document on inclusivity, explained that

there is a more recent document from 2003 which was market research based from our main offices. This is a 15 page document which we use internally as editors [...] It contains some sensitive information which compares our products with competitors on cultural grounds etc. I cannot therefore send it out to you at the present time (email communication, 21/07/06).

Both these quotations are indicative of the extent to which perceived market forces are taken into consideration by publishers. The advice on the need to avoid portraying the US in a negative light certainly represents a new element in such documentation – and one I will return to in Chapter 9. Before discussing the role such guidelines may be said to play in determining the nature of the representational repertoires identified in the previous two chapters I turn in the following section to the interviews with the publishers. These serve to shed light on publishers’ attitudes to content more generally and the ways in which such guidelines are used to inform editorial decisions.

7.3 Interviews with publishers

As explained in Chapter 6, the interviews were conducted with publishers whose main concern was coursebooks for the more differentiated global secondary school market, and I argued there that much of what they had to say was also of direct relevance to this thesis. The first point of relevance to emerge from the interviews is the way in which the regulatory power of editors is exercised with regard to perceived market sensitivities. Informant 1 was largely concerned with coursebooks for Turkey and

Greece. He explained that this meant the material he oversaw had to be suitable for the curricular and methodological preferences of those countries, but that cultural sensitivities and practices also had to be taken into consideration. This meant that the materials could contain no references to Ephesus or Graeco-Roman cities on the west coast of Turkey, as he suggested these were felt by Greece to be 'a great national loss'. The course he was working on when we spoke, although aimed primarily at the Turkish market, had also been researched in more than seven other countries. However, as the following quotation illustrates, the Turkish focus meant that content had to be carefully scrutinised with regard to the representation of Turkish characters:

For example Turks are very sensitive. If we have an illustrator who draws them as Arabs, if we say 'Oh Turks, they're all Arabs, aren't they?', you know, I mean no they're not. They don't look like Arabs and the sensitivity's there, so we would bear that in mind in briefing very carefully the illustrators. That's making sure that if we have a character that is supposed to be Turkish that they look Turkish, and we will supply cast photos for example to an illustrator to make sure that that is the case. I mean I've just had a drawing which I've rejected where we asked for a civil building where someone just got married and they drew a mosque and in, thinking 'Oh this is a book for Turkey', well people do not get married in mosques in Turkey full stop. It's actually against the law erm because it's a secular state so I will, you know, make modifications on that and say no we can't do that (Informant 1)¹¹.

Thus the regulatory role of the editor can involve briefing illustrators, giving them examples to follow, and, where necessary, rejection/modification of their work. Elsewhere in the data he refers to rejecting artwork in which a woman was shown wearing a headscarf in a school, which he explains is against Turkish law. Both examples serve to underline the point made by Haines (1994) and Prowse (1998) that perceptions of the market have come to dominate all aspects of ELT publishing, regardless of the sector. Informant 2, who oversaw courses for the Italian market, made the point that publishers are 'very, very market driven' and that this can mean extreme sensitivity to diverse elements within a single market. By way of illustration she explained she had recently been told not to include Dracula on a reading list accompanying material for Italy - the reason being that references to blood might be considered offensive to Jehova's Witnesses. This group, she explained, represented the fastest growing religion in Italy - advice which appeared to originate with the

¹¹ See Table 6.1 for details of publishers interviewed

publisher's market research team. In the words of Informant 3, these often locally based teams act as intermediaries between the publishers and the market, producing information of this type on the one hand, and on the other relaying information from the publishers back to locally-based sales teams and teachers.

With regard to the representation of gender, all informants signalled their subscription to the spirit of the guidelines and referred to storylines in their coursebooks where girls were deliberately shown to be as capable as boys. Informant 4, who was involved in drawing up the original *On Balance* guidelines, implied that times had changed since guidelines for inclusivity were first written:

I no longer do counts and things, in the old days I used to, I would go through a manuscript and I would sort of make sure we were doing it and I would sort of write a list of - but I think **authors and editors now are so aware** and I think in [coursebook title] we've got the first level, the storyline involves the girls beating the boys at football and I think there's a danger actually of going the other way (laughing).

The comment that authors nowadays are so aware of the issue resonates with the personal communication from the coursebook writer referred to in 7.2.2 above. The implication is that inclusivity, particularly with regard to gender equality, is considered nowadays by writers and editors as a generic feature of the ELT coursebook. However, Informants 1 and 2 expressed some disquiet about the constraints on the inclusivity they felt able to incorporate into materials. The constraints are represented as originating in the market to which the publishers have no choice but to comply. Informant 2 expressed this as follows:

Boys are interested in girls which I find, [...] we're not dealing with reality there either, you know, I mean, there are other kinds of sexuality which you don't deal with, and yet you have a love interest usually in this level of coursebook [14-16 age group], we generally put a love interest in and it's always heterosexual and there tends to be a certain amount of, you know, role playing around that.

When I asked her how she would like to see sexuality addressed she answered:

I would like there to be some question mark, and when we have all these young people, I would like to be able to make young people who are having trouble with their own sexuality find something that they could, you know, get

hold of, but I think at the moment we have to leave that up to individual schools, I don't think we can do it, we couldn't possibly risk it.

'The bottom line' she added, 'is that we want our course to be bought'. Equally worrying for this informant and Informant 1 was the lack of representation of disability. Informant 1 said that disabled students tended not to be educated in the mainstream in his market and that teachers were uncomfortable in dealing with the issue – something he felt publishers had to accept in coursebook design. Informant 2 made a similar point about the difficulty of including disabled teenagers in coursebooks for her market. The problem she felt lay in the fact that 'disabled people aren't a power group like they are in Anglo-Saxon culture'. In my view this remark goes to the heart of much of the decision making regarding the construction of coursebook representational repertoires. Namely, that the perception of sectors of the market as powerful affects the representational practices associated with particular groups. Elsewhere a similar point has been made by Ferguson (2004) with regard to the increased representation of black characters in contemporary advertising. He suggests that as advertisers have come to see black people with increased spending power, increased representation has ensued. And indeed Informant 2 states that as the racial composition of Italy changes there is greater acceptance of inclusivity with regard to race in coursebooks:

I think 10 years ago it was more problematic putting a racial balance in your books whereas now because they've got an enormous amount of immigration, visible immigration with people with different coloured skin and all the classrooms have got children in them now who don't speak Italian as a first language, it's more important for the teachers to be seen to be doing something.

That said, it was clear that in some markets representation of certain groups still had to be handled with care. Informant 3 explained that as publishers they actively wanted to promote racial tolerance but that they had to consider market attitudes when deciding on content. When I pressed him for an example he said tentatively:

I mean this hasn't come up, but I can imagine that, for example that if we had a mixed race relationship for example, you know, in our photo story, you know, we had a black boy going out with a white girl, or vice versa, that, I don't know, because it hasn't come up, but that might be seen as not being appropriate.

This contrasts with the, admittedly rare, representation of a couple composed of a black man and a white woman in *Cambridge English 2* referred to in Chapter 5. Informant 4 also stated that some markets found representations of blackness problematic – ‘the teachers will not see it as being part of their reality, never mind the fact that it might be British reality’. Certain sectors of the secondary school market require ‘cultural information’ about life in the UK, but as Informant 4 suggested, there can be a mismatch in terms of the way in which ‘British reality’ is understood by the publishers and the way in which it is imagined by some market sectors. In Chapter 5 we saw that coursebooks for the adult market – certainly as represented by the *Headway* course – have moved away from an attempt to paint a picture of ‘British reality’ in favour of an idealised picture of an English-speaking global community. A comparison between the 1996 edition of *Headway Intermediate* and the 2003 edition analysed in this thesis clearly illustrates the nature of this shift. In the *Headway* course it is achieved mainly through the replacement of British characters with those from different parts of the world, locating more of the action outside the UK, and the addition of a wider range of phenotypically diverse characters.

Another area of compromise was mentioned by Informant 1 who explained that although they aimed for a racially mixed cross-section of represented participants, only ‘attractive-looking people’ were used in photographic artwork. The reason, he suggested, was twofold – agencies tended only to employ attractive models and the students ‘tend to like attractive models’ they can ‘idolize’. However, I will suggest below there may also be other reasons why only attractive models are used and why liberal/pluralist varieties of multiculturalism have increasingly come to typify coursebooks for the adult sector of the global market.

When I asked the publishers how they responded to Brown’s (1990) accusation that the English contained in coursebooks was imbued with materialist values, only one informant felt that the charge was fair. Informant 1 felt it was an oversimplification, but blamed the market for limiting the range of issues which could be addressed in coursebooks, while Informants 3 and 4 felt that the comment was more relevant to the kind of adult ELT coursebooks under investigation in this thesis. Significantly, the Brown accusation triggered references to what they all referred to as ‘aspirational’

content. They felt that such content *was* motivating but that for the secondary sector it had to be balanced with educational content - which they saw as the defining characteristic of their material. When asked what 'aspirational' meant, Informant 2, who concurred with Brown (1990), said:

Something [...] which they aspire to and which therefore interests them and motivates them because motivation is a big issue for us, and making something which teachers perceive as interesting, you know, we've got units on spending money, pocket money, saving money ... at the same time you might say well, you know, down in certain parts of Palermo the kind of way in which they spend money and the amount of money they've got, the kids just wouldn't have that, so you know, I mean, I don't know, it's difficult to avoid, we live in a capitalist society.

Talking about eastern Europe, Informant 4 admitted that aspirational content could be 'divisive' in some settings. She drew a distinction between 'rural and state school' settings where such content could be problematic and, without explicitly mentioning private language schools, referred to students in 'better-off', 'urban areas' with 'a teacher-type who is much more disposed to the methodology'. A similar type of observation was made by Bell and Gower (1998: 123) who noted with surprise that some east European students regarded 'fun' content as trivial. Whatever the views of certain sectors of the market, the concept of aspirational content is interesting: firstly, because it is clearly an in-house term for a certain type of content; and secondly, because it describes much of what was identified in chapters 4 and 5, particularly with regard to the discourse of personal and professional success. This is an issue I will return to again in subsequent sections.

In light of the above, it is clear that the publishers' guidelines play a significant role in determining key features in the representational repertoires of post-*Connections* ELT coursebooks. This is particularly so in the case of the feminizing and, to a lesser extent, the multiculturalizing of content. At the same time, publishers' increased attention to the perceived sensitivities of the global marketplace has meant that many topics cannot be addressed. In fact, the tension which exists between aspects of the inclusivity and the inappropriacy strands in the guidelines serves to illuminate a key feature of content identified in the previous two chapters – namely the way in which topics may be foregrounded in reading and listening exercises, while discussion of the issues arising is foreclosed in follow-up activities. Hence, for example, the several

instances of explicit stereotype breaking where an overt feminist message is made salient and is then ignored in the accompanying tasks.

However, the guidelines and the interviews do not explain many of the other features identified by the descriptive framework, e.g.: the particular representation of English (as syntactically invariant and a privileging of the RP/MRP accent); the move towards full colour for all units; the almost exclusive use of photographs and ensuing higher visual modality; the greater sensory orientation in the photography; and the greater use of demand-type artwork. Nor do they explain the increasingly globalized and celebratory content, nor the way in which discourses of success, mobility and egalitarianism serve to characterise the world which is constructed within the materials. To account for these features it is necessary, in the second part of this chapter, to look beyond the guidelines to the wider social context in which coursebooks are produced, disseminated and consumed.

7.4 The wider social context

In Chapter 1 I made the point that although ELT coursebooks might be designed for use as education tools, they are also embodiments of ‘particular constructions of reality’ (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991: 3) and, most importantly, commodities to be traded in the marketplace - a point also made by Littlejohn (1992), and confirmed by the publishers I interviewed. I also suggested that the English language and the practices and products associated with ELT are intimately connected with the complex phenomenon of globalization. For many critics, particularly those who understand it in dystopian terms, globalization equates primarily with economic neoliberalism and the marketization of areas of life which were previously the preserve of the state - such as education and health (e.g. Berger 1998/99; Persaud & Lusane 2000). In this process students and patients are recast as consumers and the education and healthcare they receive are commodified. This aspect of globalization can be seen as contributing to the further expansion of what has been called the consumer society, which in Baudrillard’s (1998: 25) formulation represents ‘a fundamental mutation in the ecology of the human species’ and is typified by ‘fantastic conspicuousness of consumption and abundance, constituted by the

multiplication of objects, services and material goods.’ To which we might add, the expansion of domains in which the individual is positioned as a consumer.

One consequence of the abundance of material goods and the more recent increased commodification of non-material services is that consumers orient towards commodities no longer in terms of their use value but in terms of what they signify. Thus through consuming and the exercise of choice (however restricted), individuals make statements about the kind of person they are, and at the same time express affinity with those who do likewise, while signalling their difference from those who consume otherwise. In this way, consumption becomes part of culture – that is, it is co-opted into the repertoire of resources that human beings have at their disposal for the making of meaning. For Baudrillard, and those sympathetic to his analysis (e.g. Jameson 1984; Ritzer 1998), this results in both the extension and the commodification of culture. Such a view resonates with Hall’s (1997a: 208) assessment of contemporary society as one characterised by ‘the enormous expansion of everything which has to do with culture’, leading, he adds to ‘its constitutive position today in all aspects of social life.’ In Featherstone’s (1991) account, one feature of this process, which Baudrillard (1998: 104) refers to as ‘culturalization’, is that commodities

take on a wide range of cultural associations and illusions. Advertising in particular is able to exploit this and attach images of romance, exotica, desire, beauty, fulfilment, communality, scientific progress and the good life to mundane consumer goods such as soap, washing machines, motor cars and alcoholic drinks (Featherstone 1991: 14).

This fusion of the commodity with clusters of predominantly visual associations results in the emergence of what has been called the *commodity-sign* (e.g. Baudrillard 1981; Featherstone 1991; Goldman 1992). Examples of this include items such as the Sony Walkman, Coca Cola, the Rolex watch (Goldman 1992) or the Big Mac (Ritzer 1998). In all these instances the use value of the item may be said to be eclipsed by its more powerful semiotic potential. Increasingly, symbolic goods such as languages can also be seen as commodities (Heller 1999; Anderson 2002) and, as Block and Cameron (2002) suggest, this has implications in areas such as choice of language to study, student motivation, and the allocation of institutional resources for language

learning. It also has implications for the production of coursebooks, the regulation of content, and the construction of students as customers – something which Anderson (2002) sees as implicit in fun-oriented learner-centred ELT methodology.

A key element in the processes of culturalization and the emergence of the commodity-sign is the role of the visual as a privileged mode of communication which is particularly intensified in the second half of the twentieth century. In his discussion of advertising which is central to these processes, Berger (1972: 129) makes the point that

In no other form of society in history has there been such a concentration of images, such a density of visual messages.

Similar points have been made by Jameson (1984: 54) who sees ‘a whole new culture of the image’ as typifying contemporary society, and Schroeder (2002: 3) who argues that ‘visual consumption’ (similar to Urry’s (1990) concept of the tourist gaze) is a key feature of an economy ‘organised around attention’. However, Wernick (1991) argues that the imaging of commodities, although central to contemporary society, has a longer history than that generally referred to in much of the literature cited above. He locates its origins in the late eighteenth century and the practices associated with the promotion of the first mass-produced goods. By way of illustration, Wernick tells the story of Wedgwood’s copy of the Portland Vase – a piece of Classical Roman glassware. The replica was such a feat of manufacturing expertise that when it toured Europe it served to promote sales of other Wedgwood products which were subsequently imbued with its allure. So although a commodity in its own right, the Wedgwood replica functioned as a unique kind of advertisement for a range of other goods. Wernick uses the term *promotional-sign* to refer to the advertising, packaging, and the activities associated with the launch of a product. The function of the promotional-sign is to image the entity to which it refers and to make it mean in specific ways. When a commodity, as in the case of the replica vase, also acquires a promotional function it can be seen as a *promotional commodity* or *commodity-sign*, which in Wernick’s (ibid: 16) view promotes not only itself but ‘all other produce to which, by brand and style, it is imagistically linked’.

Wernick goes on to argue that promotion has subsequently become ‘a rhetorical form diffused throughout our culture’ (ibid: vii) and is no longer solely a commercial phenomenon – so that, as Fairclough (1993) shows, a job advertisement for a university lectureship can also be seen as simultaneously promoting the institution from which it emanates. A good example of this type of promotion is the 2003 British Council recruitment campaign for teachers. Under the heading ‘Teach English and Individualism’ the artwork for one advertisement comprises a photographic montage of racially diverse faces, the meaning of which is made clear in the accompanying text:

At the British Council we aim to employ English teachers from a mix of backgrounds and ages. In this way we’ll send out signals that in Britain we believe in the right of individuals to pursue their particular lifestyle (EL Gazette 2003, 282:7).

At the same time as attempting to recruit teachers, the advertisement actively seeks to promote a view of the British Council and Britain as places of tolerance and diversity. It is my contention here that ELT coursebooks are similarly constructed and can most usefully be understood as examples of promotional commodities. In fact, it is only when we look at coursebooks in this way that the particular form which cultural content takes can be fully understood. In the following two sections I will suggest that the imaging of English in ELT coursebooks – that is, its construction as a commodity-sign - owes much to the practices associated with advertising in contemporary consumer society. In this the role of photography is decisive.

7.4.1 *Artwork and advertising*

As stated earlier, one of the most significant changes in coursebooks over the last thirty years is the move towards photographic artwork. Since the invention of photography in the nineteenth century photographic images have played an important role in connoting truth and authenticity (Kuhn 1985) – despite the fact that all such images are the result of choices made by the photographer, and are increasingly subject to digital manipulation. The very fact that photographs are generally referred to in English as ‘taken’ rather than ‘made’ suggests a correspondence between the

image and something which was already there in the material world and available, as it were, for the taking. As Sontag (1973: 5-6) suggests

A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture.

Peirce's (1955: 98-119) conception of the sign is illuminating with regard to the power of photography. In Peircean semiotics the sign is said to have three modes – the symbolic (in which the relationship between the signifier and the signified is completely arbitrary, as in the case of a red traffic light signifying stop), the iconic (in which there is a resemblance between the signifier and the signified, as in the case of a drawing) and the indexical (in which the signifier and the signified are more directly linked, as in the case of a footprint)¹². In Peircean terms the photograph may be said to constitute an iconic sign. However, to quote from Sontag again:

a photograph is not only an image (as a painting is an image), an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stencilled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask (ibid: 154).

So in addition to its iconic nature, Sontag implies an indexical dimension. Barthes (1984) adopts a similar position, arguing that a photograph 'is never distinguished from its referent' (ibid: 5). It is 'literally an emanation of the referent' (ibid: 80). Although Peirce (1955) states that an indexical sign does not resemble the object it represents (or at least not necessarily), he does recognize the indexical quality of the photograph. With reference to indexicality he states 'psychologically, the action of indices depends upon association by contiguity' (ibid: 108). It is precisely the powerful sense of psychological contiguity which Barthes says enables people to say 'Look this is my brother; this is me as a child' (ibid: 5) when talking about family snapshots. The point I wish to make here is that photography, regardless of the type of photograph or the manipulation involved in its production, has generally been

¹² I follow Chandler (2002) in using the terms signifier and signified while referring to the work of Peirce - although these terms are associated with the work of Saussure (1974). The Saussurean sign is dyadic and is composed of the signifier (e.g. the sound /ka:/) and the signified (the concept of a four wheeled vehicle). The Peircean (1955) model is triadic and consists of the representamen (a 'sign' which stands for somebody or something, similar to the Saussurean signifier), the interpretant (the sense made of the sign by the addressee), and the object (that to which the sign refers). In the work of Ogden and Richards (1923) the object is also known as the referent.

understood as somehow more ‘real’ than other representational modes, and I would suggest it is because of this combination of iconicity and indexicality. Its use therefore in both advertising and coursebook texts can be seen as an important marker of visual modality – this ‘exists’ the photograph proclaims, even if the colour and image sharpness have been distorted to induce pleasure or elicit some kind of emotional response from the viewer.

If we turn to the literature on advertising we find that the way in which the imaging of products is discussed can shed light on how English is constructed in coursebooks.

Leiss *et al.* (1990 in Schroeder 2002: 28) suggest that all advertisements:

- create positive associations for the product, service, or organization,
- are as carefully constructed as art,
- are aimed at a specific “target audience”,
- must dwell in the future,
- propose that their product or service is part of the good life,
- influence, construct, and reflect consumer identity.

The application of the descriptive framework in chapters 4 and 5 clearly demonstrated that English is consistently endowed with positive associations and that the artwork is constructed with great care – a point which was underlined in the interviews with the publishers. The suggestion that advertisements dwell in the future and are linked to identity parallels, in my view, the aspirational nature of much coursebook content. It will be recalled that the publishers I spoke to believed that aspirational content (in many, if not all, settings) was motivating for students. For Berger (1972: 132) this is precisely how much advertising imagery works:

Publicity is always about the future buyer. It offers him (sic) an image of himself made glamorous by the product or opportunity it is trying to sell. The image then makes him envious of himself as he might be.

In this way, it is suggested, consumers are motivated to literally “buy into” the self they may become. This envy of the projected self is crucial to another aspect of the coursebook identified by Kullman (2003), namely that of personal transformation. Drawing on the work of Giddens (1991), Kullman concludes that coursebooks have been invaded by discourses of identity and psychotherapy in which language learning

is reconfigured as part of the ongoing work of developing and sustaining a coherent sense of the self – a process held by Giddens to be a key feature of life in late modernity. For Kullman this identity work takes place largely in the speaking activities which students are asked to carry out. But it also takes place in my view at the level of artwork in a way similar to that found in advertising. In fact, Berger argues that one of the things advertising does is to suggest the possibility of personal transformation by showing us images of those already transformed. Thus, in the case of ELT coursebooks, the summoning gaze of the represented participants and the sensory orientation of much of the artwork combine to hail students to a lifestyle in which the discourses of success, mobility and egalitarianism form the basis of the promotional promise of English. Leiss (1983) noted a similar move away from product information towards a focus on lifestyles in television advertisements in the early 1980s. Commenting on this, Featherstone (1991: 86) suggests that lifestyle depictions provide the consumer with glimpses of what might be, adding that ‘consumer culture publicity suggests that *we all have room for self-improvement and self-expression* whatever our age or class origins’ (italics added). Thus, discourses of personal transformation linking visual consumption, identity and lifestyle may be said to play a key role in both advertising and the imaging of English in coursebooks.

At the same time, as we shall see in the following section, the commodification of social issues noted in recent advertising also finds a parallel in ELT coursebooks.

7.4.2 *Commodification of social issues*

The feminization of content is a key feature in the coursebooks analysed in this thesis. The dominant note in the representation of women is one of professional success, mobility and equality with men. The guidelines for authors were shown to be crucial in establishing this particular representational repertoire. However, as Goldman (1992) demonstrates in his analysis of women’s magazines from the 1980s, discourses of feminism have been used increasingly to image products aimed at women consumers. He refers to this as ‘commodity feminism’ (ibid: 130), a process whereby, in Benwell and Stokoe’s (2006: 188-189) formulation:

signs of feminism (the briefcase, the Filofax, the suit) become commodified and incorporated [...] into advertisements for products ranging from perfume to jeans.

Significantly, Goldman argues that commodity feminism elides the challenge feminism poses for the status quo in patriarchal societies, representing it in a depoliticised form as yet another lifestyle choice. It could be argued that a similar depoliticizing takes place in the representation of feminism in coursebooks. So although the guidelines for authors *are* politically motivated, the way in which the wider social issues raised are repeatedly foreclosed as topics for discussion indicates the nature of the publishers' compromise with perceived commercial imperatives. In this way the co-opting of feminism into pedagogic materials becomes a means of aligning English with ideas of egalitarianism and harmony between the sexes – but in such a way that ideological struggle is largely written out.

The same can also be said of the versions of multiculturalism found in coursebooks. As stated in Chapter 5, the representations of racial harmony are reminiscent of the United Colours of Benetton campaign from the 1980s or advertisements for Coca Cola in which attractive racially diverse characters signal their essential sameness through consumption (see Tinic 1997 for examples of advertisements). Gillespie's (1995 in Mackay 1997: 56) interviews with young Asians in Southall found the multicultural imaging of Coke to be part of its appeal. She concluded that:

Coke-drinkers are seen to be 'happy', 'active' 'kids in America' where 'the sun is always shining', everyone is 'happy' and 'free', 'all races get on' and there are 'no signs of anger'.

By substituting 'English speakers' for 'Coke-drinkers' the quotation could easily be applied to ELT coursebooks where a similarly benign world is constructed.

However, as Tinic (1997) shows, Benetton was to abandon such celebratory representations in the 1990s in favour of advertising campaigns in which social issues such as Aids, war and capital punishment were increasingly foregrounded. These campaigns represented a departure from the practices normally associated with the imaging of products (see 7.4.1 above). On the one hand they can be understood as the commodification of a wider range of social issues, but as Tinic (*ibid*: 12) suggests,

they were also an attempt to create a situation in which buying Benetton meant the consumer was simultaneously ‘purchasing a philosophy’. As with more mainstream advertising, ELT coursebooks have tended to steer clear of problematic social content (the Benetton advertisements were very controversial), although readings and listening on global charities tend to feature regularly, as does the environment. One of the publishers (Informant 1) mentioned the ‘green issue’ as being particularly appropriate for coursebooks precisely because ‘it doesn’t harm anyone’ – it is clear however, that the harm publishers are mainly concerned with is the potential for commercial harm to themselves.

This still leaves us with a number of other features identified by the descriptive framework which cannot be accounted for by the guidelines for authors and which are not related to the artwork. What are we to make of the representation of English as syntactically invariant, with a primary focus on the grammar of the written form, and a privileging of the RP/modified RP accent?

7.4.3 The representation of English

From sociolinguistics we know that language is not syntactically, lexically or phonologically invariant. Variables such as social class, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, geography as well as a host of contextual factors impact on the way in which linguistic resources are deployed by language users. However, the representation of English in the coursebooks analysed does not reflect variety to any great extent and the English on offer is very similar from one coursebook to another. The implication is that there is a single model of English – that contained in the coursebook – which is appropriate for all students in all contexts. Again I would suggest the logic of consumerism provides us with a useful heuristic for addressing this issue. Although approaching this from a somewhat different angle, Wajnryb’s (1996) critique of the kind of English contained in ELT coursebooks makes a number of points which are relevant to this thesis. Commenting on the way in which the role of context in linguistic choice is largely ignored in most coursebooks, she states:

This process effectively turns language into a manageable, indeed a marketable product. Instead of a fragile, impressionable, context-qualified

phenomenon with blurred edges, language is now more like a discrete item on a shop-shelf – hardy, portable, reliable [...] It is as if the very act of acknowledging context as significant limits the currency of the language presented [...] making it less easy to ‘mount’ the language as a product on the page, less easy to display (ibid).

By representing language as largely invariant, by exposing students to a very narrow range accents, and by consistently privileging RP/MRP, English is not only simplified for the purposes of teaching and learning, it could also be argued that it is reified and stabilized (again to echo Wajnryb) for commercial reasons.

Other scholars have made similar points. For example, Thornbury (2000a) refers to the discrete-item approach of the typical incremental grammar syllabus as ‘the grammar McNugget’. In this way, linguistic content is regulated by the publishers, made deliverable for teachers in manageable portions, and finally made testable by examination. Many coursebooks (although not the coursebooks in this study) are in fact linked to examinations or aim to prepare students for eventual examination. Thus language learning promotes testing, which in turn promotes more language teaching, as students progress through a series of carefully graded stages represented by the individual coursebooks in an English course. In this form, English is clearly an example of a McDonaldized product – that is, one which has been subjected to a process of rationalization along the four dimensions identified by Ritzer (1996): efficiency; calculability; predictability; and control. In the case of English, efficient delivery is facilitated through the discrete-item approach found in most coursebooks, the successful learning of which can be calculated through testing. At the same time, the incremental syllabus and a narrow range of accents aim to guarantee predictable learning and performance outcomes. Finally, control is exercised through coursebook activities and tasks which foreclose certain types of engagement with topics, for reasons, I would suggest, largely associated with the inappropriacy strand in the guidelines for authors. In this way the coursebook may be said to allow for the effective delivery of English as a commodity. Block (2002) has argued convincingly that the methodology currently viewed as most effective for the delivery of this product is task-based language teaching (TBLT). Having received the imprimatur of many within the field of SLA, Block suggests that TBLT is on the way to becoming a global model for language teaching and learning. In this way a standardized product is

delivered through a standardized methodology in a global marketplace – in which, to continue the metaphor, all are assumed to want the exactly the same thing.

7.5 Conclusion

I began this chapter by returning the second research question – ‘Why has cultural content taken this form?’ This has involved addressing the processes and practices associated with the moments of production and regulation on the ‘circuit of culture’. I have argued that the guidelines for authors serve largely to explain the feminizing of content but that it is only when we look at the coursebook as a promotional commodity that we can begin to arrive a fuller answer to the question. I have suggested that content takes the form it does largely because the imaging of English parallels the processes of commodity promotion more generally. English is associated predominantly with success, mobility and egalitarianism and, as with most advertising, the promotional promise is ultimately one of personal transformation. At the same time the language itself is represented as largely invariant at the syntactic, lexical and phonological levels. This too can be seen as linked to the logic of consumerism and the need to make English as manageable a commodity as possible. I now turn in the following chapter to the remaining two research questions and the interviews with the English language teachers – the primary consumers of ELT coursebooks.

CHAPTER 8

CONSUMPTION OF CONTENT

8.1 Introduction

So far in the analysis and discussion of data I have explored answers to the first two research questions with reference to the modified version of ‘circuit of culture’. Thus the first question addressed the interrelated moments of representation and identity, while the second question addressed production and regulation. It now remains to explore the answers to the two remaining research questions which relate to the moment of consumption – What views do practising teachers hold about the nature of cultural content? and, following on from this – How do practising teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching? The answers to these questions are explored through interviews with teachers, who, as I suggested earlier, can be understood as the primary consumers of ELT coursebooks.

The data analysis is structured around the four activities in the interview schedule, each of which, as explained in Chapter 6, was designed to explore a different aspect of the language-culture-materials nexus. Where appropriate I also refer to points which were raised in the group interview in which five teachers took part (see Appendix 11 for selected extracts from the group interview and Appendix 12 for a sample activity-based interview). As with the publishers’ interviews I have removed false starts, hesitations and repetitions from the quotations below in the interests of readability. Punctuation has also been added. The analysis is followed by a discussion of the issues arising and the light they may be said to shed on the research questions.

8.2 Activity 1: a framework for discussing culture and language teaching

The first activity consisted of the response to the four senses of culture suggested by Adaskou *et al.* (1990) as appropriate for an EFL setting (see 6.4.1). As explained earlier, the activity was designed to provide the teachers with a vocabulary and a framework for talking about culture in language teaching, which, it was hoped, would encourage them to think about their own views prior to the interview. The possibility

that they might reject the framework or that they might be unable to rank the senses in order of importance was not viewed as necessarily problematic. The aim was to trigger thinking on the topic.

In fact, two teachers said the ranking activity was impossible as they felt the four senses were too interconnected to be separable, while a further ten felt they could identify only one or two senses as being important in their teaching. This could be seen as an indication that the framework was seen by a many of the teachers as not directly relevant to their practice as they understood it. That said, the first activity did provide the informants with an opportunity to begin to articulate key issues in their thinking. Four main points emerge from their engagement with the framework.

The first point is that the pragmatic and the semantic senses raised issues which were seen as being generally more integral to language teaching and learning than the issues raised by the aesthetic and the sociological senses. This is not surprising, given that they are the senses most directly concerned with language. While the aesthetic and the sociological senses were seen as useful for the contextualization of language, they were also perceived as much more variable components. Table 8.1 below shows that the pragmatic sense received the highest number of first choices, and that it shares with the semantic sense the highest number of second choices.

Senses of culture/order of ranking	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Aesthetic	3	1	1	7
Sociological	5	2	5	1
Semantic	4	7	4	-
Pragmatic	8	7	-	2

Table 8.1 Order of importance of senses of culture

However, even when the ranking decisions were similar for the pragmatic and the semantic senses, the reasons given suggest different orientations on the part of informants with regard to pedagogic implications. Robert (UK, 20) summed up the views of many who ranked the pragmatic sense first when he said:

I chose that because it can cause so many confusions. I mean if they're going to interact with people they have got to get their registers right and they have

got to [...] be socially appropriate [...] otherwise they can offend people. That's why I chose that as the most important of the four [...] 'cause the rules are different, the linguistic system is completely different, obviously between Spanish and English.

On the other hand, Pere (Sp., 12), who worked mainly with students of Business English, took up a somewhat different position:

I think the semantic sense would be the most important aspect for me as a teacher because it's where most meaning is conveyed [...] my students do business with British companies and they tell them that they can't send them something because it's a bank holiday, they need to know what a bank holiday is, otherwise they can't do business, yeah. So that seems to be the most important issue here. Secondly I'd probably say pragmatic sense [...] for instance at receptive level helping them realize that when a native English speaker begins a sentence by saying 'I'm afraid' what follows is usually bad news [...] I think at least in terms of receptive knowledge or ability that's pretty important.

What is noticeable here is that Robert's view is essentially normative, with an implicit focus on student production, while Pere sees the semantic and the pragmatic senses more in terms of understanding an interlocutor's meaning. His reference to the 'receptive level' and 'receptive knowledge' in the context of interaction with a 'native English speaker' points to a somewhat different orientation to that of Robert, whose focus is on ensuring that students get 'their registers right' and that they are 'socially appropriate'. As we shall see in subsequent sections, this productive/receptive divide points to contrary views held by many informants regarding the concept of appropriateness and the view of the 'native speaker' of British English as the model for ELT in Spain. At the same time, the importance attached to the semantic and the pragmatic senses was seen as often being determined by specific contextual needs. Thus Bob (US, 14) felt that the pragmatic and the semantic senses assume greater importance for Erasmus students about to study in Britain, while Melissa (UK, 14) saw the pragmatic sense as 'intrinsic' to the 'actual teaching syllabus' for students preparing to take Cambridge examinations – a point also made by Karen (UK, 13).

Informants who ranked the aesthetic and the sociological senses highest were generally those who took a more topic-based view of language lessons – thus Judy (Australia, 9): 'they are the themes we teach through a lot, especially in the lower

levels' and Robert, who ranked the sociological sense second: 'I mean they're the sort of things we do'. All informants were of the opinion that cultural content in the aesthetic and the sociological senses could vary considerably depending on students' interests or the context of instruction.

The second point to emerge from the teachers' engagement with the framework was the perception of a considerable degree of what might be called *cultural convergence* within the 'western world' (see following quotation). For the four Spanish teachers who mentioned it, the cultural differences between speakers of Spanish/Catalan and English were less significant than the differences in their respective linguistic codes. To quote Pere again:

Cinema, music, literature, I mean this is world culture now, I mean, I don't really see a great deal of boundaries, particularly within Europe or the western world, you know between the kind of media culture in the Anglo-Saxon world and the media culture in say southern Europe [...] we see the same films, read the same kind of books really, so that would be the least important of all four.

Similarly Josep (Sp., 10), who, like Pere, ranked the aesthetic sense last, did so on the basis that 'we are all in the western world, I mean, they are so exposed to it ... because I mean the students actually receive it from the outside'. This point was also made by Caroline (Ireland, 13) and Clare (US, 18) with reference to the aesthetic sense. These comments resonate with Hannerz's (1992: 30) view that, in an increasingly globalized world, 'media contribute greatly to making the boundaries of societies and cultures fuzzy' as the same cultural products are consumed more widely by greater numbers of people. In this way, he suggests, globally dispersed consumption can lead to an increased sense of having 'more contemporaries' (ibid) – as individuals or groups come to feel part of transnational cultural entities. Another teacher in her fifties, Pilar (Sp., 26), also felt that in her own lifetime differences at the level of the sociological sense had decreased:

I think that the differences are not as important as some years ago maybe ... home life is not that different now, maybe from the time when I was a child here and maybe somebody in England. I don't think that there are as many differences now, there may be something, but maybe there are not as many now [...] it's becoming more and more general no, the European scene.

At the same time, informants viewed specifically British subject matter – in the background studies sense - with considerable reservation. This is the third point to emerge from the first task. Information of this type was seen as being largely irrelevant, except in those instances where students actively solicited it, or where it could be used as the basis for cross-cultural comparisons which might lead to classroom discussion. Here, Caroline sums up the views of most informants:

When the teachers at [institution] are looking at books to decide which one to use, we do tend to avoid those which seem to be too British culture-biased ... and the thing that I've noticed, for example when I was piloting a book for Longman which is about to come out, one of the things that they asked me to look at was would it be suitable for all cultures, and so I was looking at the cultural content of that book and what I liked about it was it gave information about all kinds of different kinds of culture, not British culture, or American, I mean it gave information about American culture, African culture, Arab culture etc.

The data suggest the main reason for this attitude is that English is perceived as an international language – a point which was made repeatedly by the interviewees - and that students are mostly learning it with a view to interacting with other second language speakers. As Pere explains, this has implications for content:

The vast majority of our students come here probably three hours a week for the purpose of learning the code so they can use it with Swiss people (laughs), so I mean they're really not that bothered about learning about the British having an average of six cups of tea a day. It's just pretty meaningless as far as they're concerned.

The example Pere uses to exemplify his point may also suggest that he sees such information as being essentially trivial in nature. Similarly Montse (Sp.,15) explained that she tried to instil in her students an awareness of English as an 'international language' by using class readers about life in Nigeria and a story about Australian Aborigines. Apart from 'getting the students interested', she felt the benefit was that 'they get to know another culture [...] another place where English is spoken'. This is consistent with McKay's (2002) conclusion that, of the three possibilities put forward by Cortazzi & Jin (1999: 205) as approaches to cultural content, 'international target culture materials' can serve to raise awareness about how English is used internationally. A similar point is made by Matsuda (2006) who suggests that such

content serves to challenge the view of English as an exclusively 'American' or 'western' phenomenon.

Finally, the fourth point to emerge from the discussion of the framework is that for most teachers the best starting point for any kind of focus on culture is the students themselves. For Marta (Sp., 22), echoing Holliday (1999), it was essentially a matter of the small 'culture of the classroom' taking precedence over any other kind of culture:

The first is to create the right atmosphere in the classroom, so this is culture on its own, because it's the culture of the classroom, and it's a complex culture because every time you begin a new year you have new students, and it's where you start all your interpersonal relations, and you establish a milieu in that place and from there you start to exchange your own experiences, and when all this begins to work is when you can incorporate things from the outer world.

Marta's idea of a 'milieu' in which an exchange of experiences which might be linked to wider issues of interest to the students neatly encapsulates what most teachers appeared happiest with. A further justification for the focus being on students was also made by those 'native speaker' teachers who had spent a long period abroad. Six of them positioned themselves as no longer qualified to address many aspects of culture specifically associated with Britain or the United States and/or as cultural learners themselves. This issue was originally raised in the group interview by Max (Switzerland/US, 23) where it met with the approval of the other informants:

Our culture is so diluted, I mean I don't know where I come from anymore, and like I just deal with what they bring and we kind of do their culture in English.

On this view, culture is (partly) understood as knowledge which, in this instance, can become weakened or otherwise reduced though living abroad (see 2.4.1 for an account of the cognitive conception of culture). Max returned to this theme again during the first task, this time positioning himself as a learner of the students' culture:

I guess I turn it upside down, and like I'm the kind of the person who's, doesn't know, and I ask them about their culture rather than the other way round I think.

As we shall see, many of these core concerns are returned to and further nuanced in the subsequent sections as the teachers engage with the remaining activities. In the next section I turn to the second phase of the interviews, in which the teachers discuss material they chose themselves.

8.3 Activity 2: Teachers' materials (1)

In Chapter 6 I referred to the fact that the literature on teacher thinking with regard to issues of culture in ELT suggested that teachers tended to talk about the topic in very general terms. In one study (Byram & Risager 1999), over eight hundred and fifty British and Danish modern languages teachers were asked to outline their views on the role of culture in language teaching through questionnaires, and over fifty were also interviewed. In the questionnaire the teachers were asked to define 'culture' and 'cultural awareness'. The analysis of the answers led Byram and Risager to conclude that most teachers understood culture in very general and 'uncontroversial' (ibid: 89) terms. They add:

There is scarcely anyone who includes thoughts about dominance, suppression, power, cultural imperialism, prejudices, stereotypes or similar concepts (ibid: 89).

Interestingly all these issues were raised by the Barcelona teachers. The reason may be related to the format of the activity-based interviews in which the teachers were asked to include material they disliked. Although I did not ask for a definition of culture, on the grounds that such a question might have been seen as daunting, I did ask the five teachers who came to the initial group interview, held at the planning stage of the activity-based interview schedule, to brainstorm the words they associated with 'culture'. The brainstorming produced only one of the terms listed by Byram and Risager, namely 'stereotypes' – while the remainder were similar to many of the general associations found in their study. At the end of the brainstorming activity, the teachers in the group interview were asked to list their first three associations. These were as follows:

Teacher	Words associated with culture
Gary (UK,9)	variety; society; stereotypes
Karen (UK, 15)	theatre; groups; culture
Max (Sw./USA, 23)	newspaper; poetry; jargon
Melissa (UK, 14)	fascinating; rich; varied
Judy (Aust., 9)	language; traditions; food

Table 8.2 Words associated with ‘culture’ by group interviewees

These terms may be understood as being associated with each teacher’s prototypical or default view of culture. Many of them can be linked to the conceptions and ideas surveyed in Chapter 2 – i.e. ‘high’ culture (theatre, poetry); ‘popular’ culture (newspapers); the centrality of language (language, jargon); the ‘way of life’ view of culture (traditions, food); and the notion of cultures as plural and differentiated (varied, groups, variety, society). Even Melissa’s list of adjectives may be said to point to the ‘exotic’ – identified by Kroeber (1953, in Hannerz 1992: 3) as the focus of so much early anthropological interest in culture. However, when the same teachers were asked to discuss examples of cultural content in ELT coursebooks which met with their approval and disapproval they addressed a considerably wider range of issues, many of which were linked to the context of instruction. I begin with the materials they disliked, as teachers had more to say on this topic than on materials they liked.

8.3.1 Stereotypes

The type of materials most teachers viewed negatively were those containing stereotypical representations, mainly of nationality and gender. Thus teachers drew attention to the representation of a North American family on a whirlwind tour of Europe in *New Headway Intermediate* (Soars & Soars 1996). This reading and listening activity, entitled ‘If it’s Tuesday ... we must be in Munich’, consists of an interview with four tourists who are confused about what they have seen.¹³ Bob and Clare both found it objectionable to varying degrees. For Clare all national stereotypes were offensive and at odds with her understanding of language teaching as an activity ‘to promote some sort of cultural understanding of people’. In her view, the problem with such representations was that students could have their existing stereotypes

¹³ This has been removed from the 2003 edition.

‘confirmed to some extent by seeing these drawings and things in a textbook’. Bob was more equanimous, describing them as ‘a cheap shot’, while broadly agreeing that they could confirm students’ preconceptions about North Americans. Similar views were expressed by Montse, who said a colleague had been ‘outraged’ by the way in which the tourists were represented, and Pilar, who disliked the nationality stereotyping, also added that it was ‘terrible’ that one of the women was shown to be ‘really stupid’. Pilar and Josep also felt another reading in the same coursebook about a white middle-class family living in the south-east of Britain was inaccurate. For Pilar, it painted a ‘misleading’ picture that would give students the ‘wrong idea’ about British people, while Josep felt it completely ignored the fact that Britain was a ‘multiracial society’.

Melissa and Karen both drew attention to gender stereotyping – although, like most informants, they felt that coursebooks had improved greatly in this area since they had started teaching. Melissa described a listening activity as ‘sexist’ in which women were repeatedly represented as bad drivers and said that having used it once she would never use it again. Her answer to my question about why she felt so strongly indicates how closely teachers can identify with the materials they use and how they resist being positioned by them:

it’s as if you’re giving it your seal, you approve of it, yes. If you don’t approve of it you shouldn’t use it because you might give the impression that you agree with, say the ideas on the cassette, or with the way the women are portrayed and I wouldn’t like my students to think that I did, that I agreed with that.

Like Clare and Bob, Melissa thought that stereotypical material had the potential to reinforce ideas students might already hold. Although discussion of such issues was an option, she added that it was sometimes a risky strategy as students could take the opportunity to express sexist or racist views. This was seen as problematic as it raised the issue of how to respond. In the group interview she had made the point that teachers had to be careful about how they expressed their own opinions in such circumstances:

you have to be diplomatic [...] with students you’re in a delicate situation because they’re customers, clients, and you mustn’t offend.

Melissa's remark is a reminder that, in some instances, particularly for those teachers working in the private sector, the marketization of language teaching can impact on pedagogic decision making. This would also suggest that the foreclosure of discussion of certain topics identified in the analysis of coursebooks in Chapters 4 and 5 might be viewed favourably by some teachers in certain contexts.

8.3.2 *Irrelevant content*

As stated earlier, specifically British subject matter was seen as often being irrelevant in the context of instruction. Thus Max explained that while the material he brought to the interview was suitable for 'a kind of ESL situation' in the UK (using a public telephone and similar activities), it was largely irrelevant to students in Barcelona. Robert also mentioned the lack of relevance of a piece of material on the typical English breakfast in the context of a teacher training course he delivered in Rumania. In the following extract he explains why he found it 'embarrassing':

there's toast, orange juice, coffee, cheese, God marmalade, croissants (laughing), it's all there, I mean [...] for your average Rumanian that would be a sort of a wedding banquet I should think. So I mean I find it embarrassing and I don't think it's necessary [...] There was no way that most of them were going to encounter what's on this page, and I don't think they needed to know about it really. I just can't see the relevance of it at all.

Robert returned to this before completing the activity to make the point that the material would not have been embarrassing in Spain because it would not 'insult anybody', whereas in Rumania it was 'like rubbing their noses in their poverty sort of thing'. This recalls comments made by one of the editors in Chapter 7 who admitted that certain kinds of aspirational content were not appropriate for all east European contexts. Marta also mentioned the irrelevance of material on how to avoid culture shock in various British social settings – on account of the degree of cultural convergence referred to earlier. Jennifer (Australia, 18) also complained about the overall picture of Britain painted throughout the Headway course. In her view this was constructed around 'quaint, anecdotal, English, eccentric stories' which were 'of very little interest to the majority of students' and 'downright embarrassing' to

teach.¹⁴ Similar points were also made by Isabel (Sp., 7) and Janet (UK, 18). These references to embarrassment are suggestive of the way in which teachers can feel positioned by materials which they believe to be inappropriate for certain groups.

Gary's (UK, 9) example underlined the point that the context of instruction is a key factor in evaluating the relevance of a piece of material. He described how a listening exercise about a collective of women mechanics in Sheffield had been the basis of a 'fantastically successful lesson in Cairo' because

it generated lots and lots of fascinating discussion [...] it was a fascinating area, it prompted lots of interest, the cultural content really went down well, it got lots of discussion.

However, the same material 'died a thousand deaths' when he used it with his students in Barcelona, the reason being, he suggested, that Catalans took the view that 'everybody can do everything' and there was therefore nothing to discuss. What is also significant about this remark - something we will encounter repeatedly in accounts of what teachers approve of - is that the material's potential for generating discussion is a key factor in overall evaluation.

8.3.3 *Discursive weight*

Pennycook (1998: 2) argues that while English is not inherently colonial it remains 'deeply interwoven with the discourses of colonialism'. On this view, English and ELT, the origins of which Pennycook locates at the heart of Britain's colonial project, continue to bear what he calls a 'discursive weight' (ibid: 8). This is instanced in a multitude of ways including, *inter alia*, the popular media's 'glorification' (ibid: 156) of the distinctive qualities of English and the way in which this is frequently reproduced in ELT materials along with celebratory accounts of its global spread; the construction and the uses of the 'native/non-native speaker' dichotomy; and the essentializing of certain groups of students as passive or incapable of critical thinking. As we shall see, a cluster of themes which can be linked to the concept of 'discursive weight' were raised by a small number teachers for whom the construction of English in coursebooks was seen as problematic in this respect.

¹⁴ All texts she referred to have been removed from the 2003 edition.

Like most informants, Caroline felt that overtly British content was best avoided. She began by suggesting that students ‘like to be able to identify with things in books’ and that an exclusive focus on things British is ‘a bit limited, a bit boring’. Then after an initial hesitation, she added ‘I was going to say, on a personal level, it comes a bit back to the empire thing’. Her answer to my request for clarification is worth quoting at length:

I suppose one of the things that has marked British intervention in most countries is that they do try to impose their culture on the other countries and in a way, historically speaking, that’s why English is the most widely spoken language [...] historically speaking, the British have always tried to impose their language and their customs on the many countries which they tried to colonize, or did colonize. I don’t think the British are very well seen in general in other countries because often people think that they’re arrogant and, I’m sure it comes from this as well, thinking that well, the way they do things in Britain is better than the way they do them anywhere else. In fact I was talking to a Spanish person about this very thing last night and I suggested that the Spanish also colonized a lot of countries, but she was saying yes, but they didn’t tend to impose everything Spanish on the country, OK, they took everything there was out of the country and they exploited it for material benefit, but they didn’t seem to have the same arrogance where the other country had to adopt their culture. And this is the feeling a lot of people have about the, the British. In Ireland the same thing happened [...] unless you stopped speaking Gaelic and you started speaking English you hadn’t a hope in hell of getting work or being able to communicate with the oppressors.

This extract raises a number of issues – firstly, there is her own foregrounded sense of personal involvement with the material (a feature of many teachers’ choices); secondly, there is her account of Britain’s colonial past which is linked with her perception of ‘the British’ as arrogant; and thirdly, there is the link between Britain’s colonial involvement in Ireland and language shift from Gaelic to English. It should also be said that her initial hesitation and subsequent, somewhat vague, reference to ‘the empire thing’ suggested she might need encouragement to express a possibly negative assessment of overtly British content – hence my clarification request. As Gumperz (1992: 48) states:

Inferential processes depend in large part on contextualization cues which are first perceived at the level of surface grammar and phonetic or prosodic form and, once perceived and processed in the light of lexical and grammatical

knowledge and sequential positioning within the exchange, give rise to the relevant implicatures.

In fact I had inferred correctly from her hesitation and the implicit hedge in ‘the empire thing’. Her subsequent turn may be said to underline the point made in 6.4 above, that the interview data represent a co-production of the researcher and the informants in interaction with materials. No other ‘native speaker’ teacher spoke about cultural content in this way, although some L1 Spanish teachers did refer to colonialism, linguistic imperialism and the notion of ‘the dominant culture’. What is interesting about this highly politicised (and in places essentializing) statement is that it is offered as an explanation of why she prefers not to use overtly British material in class (although she offered no specific examples of what she meant). Pennycook (1998: 16) suggests that ELT practitioners ‘walk in Crusoe’s footsteps’, by which he means that ELT practices are perforce linked to the legacy of colonialism, and Caroline’s comments certainly suggest that for her the legacy of colonialism continues to ‘adhere’ (using Pennycook’s term) to English. It is for this reason she says she prefers content which is ‘more global’ in orientation.

Pere too was aware of the adherence of colonialism – although he positions himself very differently. As an example of material he disliked, he cited a *Cambridge English I* (Swan & Walter 1990b) text in which Zulu, Maori and Native American speakers describe their unhappy childhoods. All three mention unkind treatment at the hands of white people. The following exchange illustrates the nature of his alternative perspective:

P: ... and it’s just kind of like ‘Is this really necessary?’ and I’m sure it’s true and very sad and regrettable, but what kind of message are the authors trying to convey here? I mean is this, the idea, some kind of penitence for my students to repent and feel guilty in class as well as learn the simple past of the verb be, you know?

J: It’s an interesting area, isn’t it? I mean why do you think they’ve put that sort of stuff in the book?

P: Because I think it makes some British people feel better about themselves (laughs) to be honest.

J: Do you mean maybe teachers?

P: Teachers, maybe coursebook writers, maybe kind of liberal professions or whatever, people who are aware of what imperial countries might have done some time ago, and the damage done etc., etc. and they try to pay back or apologise for it, which I'm not saying is a bad thing, it's probably called for, necessary, but you wonder to what extent this is really the best choice for teaching the simple past of the verb be.

Pere's point is essentially that the legacy of colonialism has nothing to do with him or his students. His rationale for its presence in a coursebook also resonates with the 'guilt complex' explanation offered by Pulverness' (1999: 5) for the demise of background studies in British ELT materials. The reference to 'what imperial countries might have done some time ago' is indicative of his understanding of such content as essentially historical baggage which is of dubious value for contextualizing grammar. Like Caroline, he states that he prefers materials that 'address the issue of English as an international language'. For Pere this clearly involves a different type of thematic content but he added – a point he would make in several interview activities - that it would also involve a move away from a narrow focus on RP and a much wider range of accents from around the English speaking world.

The reservations expressed by Caroline and Pere (although somewhat differently motivated) point to a view of English as historically encumbered – and both suggest that it can, and should, be constructed differently in coursebooks for the teaching of English as an international language. Other teachers, whose views I now address, raised the issue of a different kind of encumbrance – that of the uncritical representation of what they called the 'dominant culture'.

Jaime (Peru, 20) positioned himself as having been raised in 'a very much Anglophile culture' in Lima and during the discussion of the first task he made the case for prioritising the aesthetic sense as a way of making the language attractive to students and as means of opening up new cultural perspectives. He described his own view of teaching as 'humanistic' in which he aimed to help students become members of 'a global community'. However, as the following exchange suggests, this involves the development of critical faculties:

Jaime: I tend to create [...] a certain distance between English as a dominant culture, in many of the places in the world I have taught English, and maybe

because of personal, or for respect of my own culture of origin, for respect of my own culture of origin, I always tend to create this distance

J: Between?

Jaime: Between lang-, English as a dominant, as a means of transferring a dominant culture to my students and to, even to myself.

J: OK, that's very interesting Jaime, can I just ask you a little bit more about that? How do you manage to get that distance in there?

Jaime: Well basically by doing the same kind of process of learning that I encourage in my students, actually processing the information I learn through language, language learning and language teaching with a critical eye, with a critical attitude.

This suggests a certain duality inherent in English – on the one hand it can facilitate entry into a global community, and on the other is it has the potential to transfer the 'dominant culture' to both teacher and students, with perhaps negative consequences for their 'culture of origin'. Such a process has been referred to elsewhere as 'ontological imperialism' (Modiano 2001: 164), whereby 'the learner's mind is colonized through the acquisition of a foreign tongue'. Jaime subsequently describes the 'dominant culture' tangentially in terms of coursebook material in which the focus is on 'glorifying a kind of middleclass' for its eccentric individualism and conspicuous wealth which he feels 'might be considered shallow' in certain educational settings. He suggests that students should be given the chance to reflect on such content, and that the teacher's role is to help them do this, while at the same time encouraging them 'to talk with pride' about their own cultural backgrounds. Such an approach, similar to that advocated by Freire (1970/1996) and Kramsch (1993), is also recommended by Hyde (1994) as a means of enabling Moroccan students to resist the hypothesized potential of English to undermine specifically Moroccan values.

Eulàlia (Sp., 15) also saw glorification in the coursebooks she used. In this extract she describes how *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* (Soars & Soars 1998) represents Bill Gates:

I think in English, in English books, there is a lot of, a lot of like the icons of the culture are like very much very present, I think. And sometimes, I don't know if they are very critical of it, I don't think they are [...] for example in

relation (to) this, here in the new Headway there is a text about Bill Gates [...] ‘The man who could buy anything’, I mean how powerful this guy is, and ‘The richest private citizen in the world’ [...] ‘He has a personal fortune which is more than the annual economic output of over a hundred countries’. And I think this like, I mean there is something to be said about this, you know. I mean, obviously I’m not saying that the book, I mean it’s there, you can do what you want with it, but, but the thing that, they do this a lot, they take people, maybe Americans more [...] and then they kind of glorify it a bit, and they are not very critical.

For this teacher the problem with such material, which can be seen as celebratory of individualism, wealth and celebrity, is that it is presented uncritically - ‘there is no criticism [...] or no questioning [...] no discussion or anything, whether this is like morally right or not’. Other similarly glorified ‘American icons’ included Paul Newman, Madonna, Micky Mouse and Coca-Cola. As we saw in 8.3.1 above, dealing with problematic content can present the teacher with a dilemma. This can be a consequence of the context of instruction where, for example, the student may be seen as a customer, but it can also be a consequence of teachers’ understanding of their own role. For Eulàlia, who sees the teacher’s role as that of ‘co-ordination’, appearing to be neutral and allowing the students to do the talking is preferable, although she admitted she did not always manage to keep her views to herself. A further point, which she made repeatedly throughout the interview, was that despite her reservations about the celebratory representation of the dominant culture, such content often ‘worked’ at the methodological level.

8.3.4 *Teachers’ materials (2)*

Given the topics mentioned in the previous section it is not surprising that some informants brought along materials in which stereotypes were shown to be broken. Thus Karen and Eulàlia drew attention to representations of gender and race which they felt challenged existing stereotypes and reflected social change. A second type of content which was viewed favourably was that which was perceived to be directly relevant to students. Pere identified material on social introductions in a business setting as relevant to his students, adding that he liked ‘the kind of international world culture kind of feel to it’. Similarly Jaime felt that material on how to give a business presentation would ‘empower’ his students to function in the ‘corporate culture’ in which they would use their English. Marta’s material, which consisted of a listening

exercise in which a number of speakers talked about changes they had seen in their own lifetimes, was described as dealing with 'the culture of life' – and revolved around the topics of education, city life, food, travel, and work. She also commented favourably on the way in which the speakers had accents from around the English-speaking world. Other types of relevant content mentioned by Robert and Janet were related to service encounters they felt their students might have to engage in, while Josep brought along material on music and 'the generation gap' with which he felt teenagers could identify.

However, apart from these, the remainder of the material produced in this stage of the interview fell into two broad categories – texts about cultural practices in various parts of the world e.g. contemporary life in Samoa, a dragon festival in Hong Kong, avoiding culture shock when abroad, good manners in different parts of the world, and Spanish lifestyle; and, despite reservations expressed in activity 1 and the first part of activity 2, texts which were more clearly of the background studies type e.g. information about emigration to the United States, the Grand Canyon, Christmas cards, New Year in the UK, attitudes to drinking tea, bonfire night, and the lives of Shakespeare, Agatha Christie, and Thomas Hardy. However, what is significant here is the way in which the informants discussed this material almost exclusively in terms of the activities students had to do or in terms of the linguistic outcomes - rather than focusing on the actual content itself. Teachers in fact seemed to switch to their default view of culture when asked to select material which met with their approval and to switch also to a position in which linguistic concerns were uppermost in their thinking. Terms and expressions used to describe materials included: 'quite challenging' (Caroline); 'very engaging' 'very communicative' and 'very exploitable' (Pere); 'it produced a lot of [...] interesting conversations' and 'it worked well' (Max); 'you get a bit of discussion' (Judy); 'there are four shorter texts, interconnected to some extent, which in the class worked very well' (Isabel); 'it's task-based [...] it's more communicative, it integrates skills (Marc, Sp. 9); 'material which I thought worked very, very well and was good fun' (Gary); 'it actually works' (Bob); 'it can be extrapolated to the student's own experience' (Jennifer); 'it's well organized and ... has a lot of activities around it' (Clare). In many instances what made the material 'work' was an interactive element in which students exchanged information, or there was a cross-cultural dimension in which the students were given the opportunity to

compare how things were done in Spain with things elsewhere, or, in the case of the text on Spanish lifestyle to react against a stereotypical representation. Overall though, Gary's comments on the text about the collective of women mechanics referred to earlier summed up the views of most teachers:

Basically what I hope to get from materials is a nice context for language focus and nice context which is going to animate discussion. So what I'm saying is like gender, I've learnt now as a language teacher practically in Catalonia that I'd probably not use a piece of material like this again because it wouldn't stimulate much discussion or much interest [...] what I feel is that it's probably a good topic to include in a coursebook, I think it would go down well in Brazil, it would go down very well in Egypt but it doesn't go down well everywhere and the teacher has to select according to what's going to stimulate practice.

In fact, animating discussion and stimulating practice were at the heart of most teachers concerns in their selection of cultural content which they viewed positively. I now turn to the third phase of the interview in which the teachers engaged with materials I had selected.

8.4 Activity 3: Researcher's materials

Reactions to the first piece of material 'The average British family: a stereotype' were mixed (see Appendix 8(a)). Just under half the teachers agreed with Marta's view that the text was 'boring', 'uninteresting' and 'unattractive' and several of them said that they would prefer a focus on a real family. Clare cited the 'Material World: a global family portrait' (Menzel *et al.* 1995) as an example of something which would be more interesting for students to engage with.¹⁵ Others felt the focus was too narrow and that families today, both in Britain and elsewhere, were more varied units (e.g. single parent, gay).

When I asked if teachers would like to see the focus widened to include more ethnically diverse families most teachers said they would, although Pere, Pilar and Rosa (Sp., 7) felt this was somewhat missing the point. Pilar explained that for her 'the central point is language' and that if such information were to be included in

¹⁵ This consists of photographs of families from around the world pictured outside their house with all their possessions on display.

coursebooks it would be more useful to include a wider range of accents and varieties from around the English-speaking world – a view echoed by Pere. Rosa explained that just as it was preferable nowadays to speak of ‘literatures in English’ instead of ‘English literature’, so too in the study of English language there was a need to amplify the subject to expose students to different varieties. Her rationale for such exposure was that it would provide students with new information about the language they were learning which she felt would be more motivating than the kind of content normally found in coursebooks.

However, over half the teachers were more positive about the material and the majority of those saw in it the potential for cross-cultural comparison and the possibility of generating discussion. As with the discussion of material they liked, teachers explained how they had used it in the past or what they would do to fully maximize its language generating potential. Thus marked stereotypes were not necessarily rejected, but could be viewed positively by many teachers – including Bob and Melissa, both of whom had complained earlier - on account of their potential to stimulate language practice.

The second piece of material (see Appendix 8(b)) on polite language raised three issues, all of which can be related to the normative role of British ‘native speaker’ models in contemporary ELT. These are to do with politeness, pronunciation, and idiomatic spoken British English, each of which I shall address in turn.

8.4.1 *Politeness*

Cook (1999: 190) makes the point that although the ‘native speaker’ has maintained a ghostlike presence in SLA research, the presence in ELT has been altogether more substantial. He argues that coursebooks are ‘implicitly native based’ (ibid: 189), as instanced by the predominance of idealized ‘native speaker’ interactions as models for contextualizing language. To this we might add the use of the RP/MRP cluster of accents identified in Chapters 4 and 5 as the predominant element in the phonological representation of English and the way in which many contemporary coursebooks, include sections on idiomatic British English. More recently Leung (2005: 128) has stated that the ‘native speaker’ remains ‘part of the bedrock of transnationalized ELT’.

He argues that the appropriation and transfer of Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence from an initial research context to a pedagogic one has resulted in the use of 'abstracted contexts and idealized social rules of use based on (English language) native-speakerness' (Leung: 2005: 119). In this recontextualization, he suggests, key concepts such as appropriateness can be misleadingly recast as a set of prescriptions for language learning. In fact many of the Barcelona teachers identified such prescriptions as problematic.

Although all informants (with the exception of one) felt the material *could* be used in the classroom, many were critical of the way in which it was presented and what it seemed to imply about language use. Gary summed up much of this criticism as follows:

A criticism I have a lot, of a lot of coursebooks in the way that they deal with language, is that they say to students in x situation such and such a choice of language is appropriate, they don't say to students in x situation you have a range of choices, the liable effect of these choices on the person you're interlocuting with is liable to be boom, boom, boom because of these reasons [...] and a lot of coursebooks seem to come from the attitude of this is what you say to your dad, this is what you say to your boss, and this is what you say to your best friend, nonsense.

This is precisely the charge levelled by Leung (2005: 137), who argued that such 'reductionist and static idealizations [...] are at best partial representations of social reality', adding, with reference to *Headway* advice on greetings, that '[t]here is no one way of greeting people, any more than there is one way of talking to a bank clerk or an airline worker'. This was a view expressed by informants who felt the material needed input from the teacher so as not to be misleading. The exercise also triggered doubt about, or in some cases criticism of, the way in which coursebooks often devoted considerable time and space to the presentation and practice of more elaborate forms of politeness associated with British 'native speakers'. For these teachers such activities were seen as unnecessary for the kinds of interaction their students were likely to engage in, i.e. those involving only L2 speakers. Thus Pere:

Why on earth should you struggle [...] with these convoluted, embedded kind of phrases 'I'm really sorry to bother you, but I wondered if you could possibly' [...] which British people might choose when dealing with other British speakers?

Jennifer took a similar view, but pointed out that she was constrained by ‘a very culture bound exam’ (Cambridge First Certificate) to teach such elaborate language. Under different circumstances she said ‘I certainly wouldn’t give it much emphasis’. Ideally, students could be taught to produce more ‘neutral’ language (of the kind featured in the material from *Cutting Edge*) which she felt was more appropriate for her students who, via the Internet were being exposed to what she called ‘world hybrid English’. For such students, ‘can’, ‘could’ and ‘please’ provided a ‘good base’ and were ultimately more ‘serviceable’ than the culturally specific forms she was required to teach at First Certificate level. However, despite complaints about the way such language was addressed generally in ELT materials, the teachers, including Jennifer and Gary, saw the *Cutting Edge* exercise as potentially useful, particularly for Erasmus students headed for Britain or for those students aiming at a high level of perfection.

When asked about their views on the role of the ‘native speaker’ ideal within ELT, not surprisingly, many informants saw the term as inherently problematic but felt that when it came to matters of politeness or the expression of pragmatic meaning then issues of student choice and the context of use needed to be considered. Most took the view that if students were going to go to Britain or the US then they needed to be made aware of how their language might be interpreted by ‘native speakers’. On the other hand, Melissa pointed out:

A lot of students in actual fact don’t use English with native speakers [...] they often use English on the telephone, or in faxes, or emails or whatever, and they develop their own kind of lingo [...] so maybe for these people these things aren’t important, but at least you give them the, in the classroom, you give them the opportunity to be, you make them aware of them, whether they choose to use them or not is up to them.

Josep and Jennifer also referred to the notion of students developing their own speaking and writing style - although they acknowledged a tension between this and the requirements of international examining bodies which, as Jenkins (2006b) and Leung and Lewkowicz (2006) have pointed out, remain focused on metropolitan native speaker varieties of English.

8.4.2 Pronunciation

At the mention of the term ‘native speaker’ many informants turned to the issue of pronunciation. Here opinion was uncertain about the extent to which students should be taught to approximate some ‘native speaker’ model. While most teachers were critical of the narrow range of accents contained in the coursebooks several teachers felt that the concept functioned as a kind of benchmark around which to work. Pilar, positioning herself as a language learner, stated:

I think we, we have to have a model [...] for me it’s still a model, the native speaker, but it doesn’t mean that I have to be like the native speaker, it’s my model, but I know that I will never be like a native speaking the language.

In Pilar’s case the model was RP – ‘I think that it’s basic’ she said, although she recognised this position was no longer widely accepted by teachers. Her view was that in the early stages of language learning students should ‘follow’ only one accent on the grounds that this had been important in her own learning. Pilar was the only teacher to make the case for a so-called prestige accent in this way. Most ‘native speaker’ teachers took the view that their own accent functioned as a model for students. They also tried to expose them to other pronunciations where possible, in the knowledge that students would not end up sounding like ‘native speakers’. However, there were also signs that teachers were aware of debates within ELT globally surrounding the issue of the teaching of pronunciation. Gary mentioned the work of Jennifer Jenkins which he understood as making the case for ‘an Esperanto-like version of the language’ in which certain features of ‘native speaker’ production were rejected. While he said he completely agreed with the idea of prioritising certain features over others, he added that ‘as a native speaker myself [...] I can only be me, basically I can only teach people to produce language in the way I produce it’. Such a position does not take into consideration the fact that ‘native speaker’ teachers sometimes do modify their accent in the direction of RP when teaching pronunciation – something I had frequently noticed on teacher training courses.

For Pere however, the spread of English globally and the rise in numbers of speakers of English as a second language meant that ‘we’ll probably end up using a kind of toned down version of standard mid-Atlantic [...] speech as a model [...] something

that's fairly neutral' – an outcome he described as 'desirable to be honest'. Such a view resonates with that expressed by Modiano (1996: 207) who describes 'Mid-Atlantic' as 'a variety that encourages neutral pronunciation and a vocabulary based on the interlocutor's frame of reference', where neutral is understood as a 'lack of features associated with distinct varieties of the language' (ibid: 211). Similarly, Eulàlia introduced the idea of 'Euro-English' as a possible model – in which 'the actual words and [...] the conventions are shared, but maybe other things like pronunciation [...] are not'. Such a situation, she felt, echoing Widdowson (1994; 1997) would reflect the reality that English was not only the 'property of a few countries' but 'something that we all use'.

8.4.3 *Idiomatic spoken English*

The third issue raised by the material was the extent to which idiomatic spoken British English should be used as a model in teaching. This was only mentioned by two Spanish informants, but they both addressed it at great length in the light of their own experience as language learners, and as language teaching professionals who were familiar with debates in the field. Having said that she would teach the forms in the *Cutting Edge* exercise for both recognition and production, Montse added that there were other features of 'native speaker' language which she saw as more problematic and of possible limited usefulness. She gave an account of a talk by Michael McCarthy who, she said, had made the case for teaching 'First class stamp, please' as a more realistic request to produce in a post-office than 'I would like to buy a first class stamp, please' – which, more typically, might be found in a coursebook. Montse disagreed, saying that while it was true that 'native speakers' did use the first type of request, they also knew how to make the second type and for a teacher not to teach the longer form would be to short-change the students. To shift from the second type of request to the first was easier than the other way around, she argued, and confirmed by her own experience as a language learner on trips to the UK.

Her second point was that because she was not in contact with spoken British English on a regular basis, she was unable to teach it. Her view was that teaching should be based on 'giving them the full structure' and 'showing them how the language works' and that students themselves could acquire more idiomatic forms in their own time, if

they were in situation where such language was being used and if they were interested. Such a position resonates with Wallace's (2002: 105) case for teaching 'literate English' as an elaborated 'supranational global' variety - which Montse implies can be customised subsequently by speakers themselves if the need and inclination arise.

A similar point was made by Eulàlia, who also gave an account of a talk, this time by Luke Prodromou, in which he compared a recording of two L2 English speakers and two 'native speakers' from the CANCODE corpus. Prodromou's point, she explained, had been that there was nothing more 'real' about the English in the culturally specific 'native speaker' exchange. She described how the talk enabled her to think of herself as a user of a global language in which the 'native/non-native speaker' distinction did not imply different ownership rights. The important thing she said was 'to make it ours' In reply to my question about how she could do this, she replied:

not feeling so much that there is a model, yeah that we, in measuring our capabilities and abilities in using the language according to that model of like native speakers [...] but seeing it, or looking at all these other people yeah, who also speak English, who are not native speakers and who can communicate in it and use it yes, and, and as well choose yeah, decide 'What do I want from the language? What kind of areas am I interested in? What kind of things do I want to do with it?'

Thus Eulàlia suggests a contrast between 'measuring' her English against the 'native speaker' model, and looking instead to other L2 speakers with a view to choosing and deciding for herself the identifications she wishes to make. Many of the views articulated by the teachers in Activity 3 resonate with those expressed by Widdowson (1997: 140), who argued that the global spread of English must be seen as the spread of a set of latent or virtual possibilities, rather than the distribution of a 'stabilized and standardized code leased out on a global scale'. Clearly they suggest a tension between what we have seen is on offer in coursebooks and what many practitioners seem to want.

8.5 Activity 4: True/false statements

By the time we reached this stage of the interview many informants had been talking for nearly an hour. The final activity in which they responded to the statements on

card took less time than the previous activities and in some cases responses took the form of short comments in which previously made points were reiterated or further nuanced.

Statement 1

Teaching language is teaching culture (Kramsch 1993: 177).

For half the teachers the response to this statement was of the ‘it depends’ type. All agreed that culture and language were linked but that the nature of the link could be interpreted differently depending on the context of instruction, and the interests and needs of the students. The four teachers who gave a categorical ‘no’ also recognized that language and culture were linked. Thus Jennifer, for example, affirmed that ‘language is a reflection of culture’ and Josep stated that ‘culture is somehow embedded’ in language. Their disagreement with the statement came from the belief that they did not ‘teach’ culture, in the same way that they taught language. In disagreeing with the statement, these teachers also rejected a view of English language teaching in which it was assumed there was a necessary link with aspects of life in Britain. Thus Robert:

You can learn a language without going into a great deal of culture [...] you’ve got to teach them sociolinguistic appropriacy but that doesn’t mean to say they have to necessarily know that some people in Britain have porridge for breakfast.

Paradoxically, the teachers who answered ‘yes’ did not necessarily disagree with Robert. Thus Marta saw rules for sociolinguistic appropriacy as implying the teaching of culture, but added that ‘you can talk about Paris, about the Nile, about many things in English, not necessarily of the British culture’. This would suggest that while informants were in general agreement about thematic content being seen as cultural – and necessarily variable, given the increasingly international nature of English – not all saw sociolinguistic appropriacy as cultural in the same way. Other teachers interpreted the statement very differently. Thus Caroline stated:

when I teach language I draw a lot on the culture of the country I'm in, so I'm not actually teaching them about their own culture, I'm just using it to make the situation seem more real.

This focus on the culture of the students was also made by Jaime, Max and Janet – in Janet's words the students own cultural background is the 'stepping stone' for any focus on culture, adding, 'my concept of teaching altogether is the fact that you work from what they've got, not from what you've got'. These teachers took the view that all cultural work should be cross-cultural in nature with the students being given opportunities to reflect on the similarities and differences between themselves and other groups.

Statement 2

In teaching English we can impart to learners not only the present perfect, but also the power of knowing and caring about the world they live in (Prodromou 1992: 49).

Teachers were also divided over this statement. Janet's response may be said to sum up the views of the seven teachers who agreed with Prodromou's view:

knowing and caring about the world means being open to other cultures and other traditions, not being enclosed in your own, so that to me is the most important thing, that there's an opportunity and that they see that whoever is teaching them [...] gives them the opportunity to sometimes discuss other issues rather than the present perfect.

However, for the remainder, who saw language teaching as their main aim, this aspect was only tangentially relevant to their professional practice. The views of Max - 'my role is to get talk going' - and Rob - 'you choose whatever motivates them to talk' – were more representative of the group as whole, but all felt that educational themes were appropriate for those groups who wished to explore them. That said, a smaller number of teachers were critical of the statement. Judy saw it as 'very dangerous', and stated 'it's not our position as English teachers to educate the world'. Gary and Jennifer were also sceptical, with the latter warning that 'you have to be very careful not to impose your ideologies on students' which was what she saw coursebooks as doing. This perspective was echoed by Eulàlia, who pointed out that:

many times knowing and caring about the world we live in is transmitting the dominant culture [...] so we want to be careful about what we mean by this.

These comments resonate with several earlier comments made mainly by ‘native speaker’ teachers that ‘preaching’ to students was to be avoided because of the cultural superiority it implied (e.g. Gary, Janet and Judy). However, another element was that raised by Pere:

If I tried to educate my forty-three year old general manager of a multinational company whose turnover is twenty thousand million pesetas, I’d probably get the sack (laughing).

The point being that ELT provision is essentially a service industry in many settings and that concerns of the type raised by Prodromou are contextually inappropriate. When asked if they felt they were involved in education, only seven of the teachers said they were, although often indirectly and only to an extent, with many citing learner training as the way in which this was manifested.

Statement 3

The kind of English contained in coursebooks can be called ‘cosmopolitan English’ because it ‘assumes a materialistic set of values in which international travel, not being bored, positively being entertained, having leisure, and above all, spending money casually and without consideration of the sum involved in the pursuit of these ends, are the norm’ (Brown 1990: 13).

Only one teacher disagreed with this. At the same time, although the remainder took the view that coursebooks represented the world in materialistic terms, not all teachers judged this in quite the same way. Thus Jaime, agreeing completely:

All the situations are perfect, everyone has money, credit cards, they take planes, they all leave on time and arrive on time, there’s always a taxi waiting for them at the door, and nobody bothers about how much the hotel is going to cost [...] I think it’s an ideal world [...] which to me seems a bit shallow.

Similar evaluations were made by Max and Edward. However, most informants made the point that coursebooks were aimed at middle-class students with certain expectations and that it was therefore unsurprising to see such expectations reflected

in materials. 'In actual fact' Jennifer said, 'the whole of society assumes a very similar set of values here', a point echoed by Josep, Rosa, Clare, Robert and Melissa. In Josep's view, young Catalans saw themselves reflected in the lifestyles represented in coursebooks – and in Judy's opinion successful business people were motivated by representations of success. Such material often 'worked' and in Bob's view was about 'trying to sugar-coat a little bit of the hard work [...] so that it's more palatable and enjoyable'.

Informants also made the point that although travel and leisure were important features of many people's lives (and for that reason should be included in coursebooks), there was also a need to balance such content with a wider range of topics. But, as Montse explained, coursebooks were written to be used in the maximum number of settings:

The writer of the book publishes a text and he doesn't know where this text is going to be read so he's extra careful about it [...] because they cannot risk someone somewhere in the world refusing to use that book because of that opinion stated there, because [...] that means losing money.

Many teachers expressed such views about the way in which the limitations of materials were linked to publishers' commercial imperatives. Because of this, local or more controversial topics which some teachers felt might be used to counterbalance the preponderance of the type of content identified by Brown had to be supplied by teachers themselves.

Statement 4

In ELT coursebooks students are positioned at the receiving end of a one way flow of information (based on Alptekin & Alptekin 1984: 15).

Several informants felt the need to clarify their understanding of the statement before responding. I explained that the authors were of the opinion that the absence of a cross-cultural dimension in a coursebook meant that students did not always have the opportunity to explore content from their own cultural perspective. All informants said that this was essentially true, although, as some pointed out, coursebooks did vary in this respect. Most argued that it was up to the teacher to present content in

such a way that students had opportunities to respond, and there was general consensus that engagement occurred when materials raised issues which were controversial or which elicited a personal or locally-based response from students. However, a small number of teachers (Karen, Janet and Eulàlia) saw the way in which personalization was approached in some coursebooks as problematic. In Eulàlia's words:

sometimes I mean they just don't know how to draw a line, because sometimes you have things like "What's the worst experience in your life?" ... sometimes I think they go [...] too deep into personal things [...] "Have you ever had an accident?", I mean I don't think this is something to talk about in a class [...] or "What's your deepest regret?" I mean you get questions like this.

This criticism resonates with Kullman's charge (2003) that coursebooks have been colonized by a discourse of psychotherapy in which students are encouraged to talk in ways which are limiting and possibly inappropriate in many educational contexts. For Pere, the problem with much coursebook material was the absence of the *local*. He explained how he often supplemented the coursebook by downloading material on the local area from the Internet or by using texts on Barcelona which had been written for an English-speaking audience. By providing his students with the opportunity to see their local world represented in English, he suggested there was a possibility of greater depth of engagement overall and a resultant higher level of response. This view was similar to that expressed by those teachers who argued that the student's own culture was often the best starting place for any kind of focus on culture. On further prompting about the kind of content he thought useful in this respect, Pere said he would like to see coursebooks with:

more local topics and how those topics might relate to the Anglo-Saxon world, or the English speaking world [...] so for example 'Why do British tourists enjoy holidays in Salou? You know, this is an account of Tom and his wife Julie who spent a fortnight in a hotel in Salou, this is what they liked, this is what they disliked.

When asked why students might engage with the topic of British holiday-makers in Spain, he answered:

Because it's a kind of bridge isn't it? it's not quite talking about us, it's not quite talking about them, it's talking about how they relate to us and we relate to them, it's closer to home.

In the context of the fourth statement, this metaphor connecting the local with the world of English appears to offer the possibility of two-way traffic in which students are no longer positioned on the receiving end of a one way flow of information but are encouraged to respond from their own locally-based cultural perspective. In the following section I return to the remaining two research questions which are discussed in the light of the views expressed by the teachers above.

8.6 Discussion

With regard to the first of the remaining research questions - What views do practising teachers hold about the nature of cultural content? - we can say that teachers tend to disapprove of content in which there are unmarked stereotypical representations of nationality and gender. They do so because they feel there is the potential for such stereotypes to be reinforced through their inclusion in a coursebook and the possible perception that they are also being endorsed by the individual teacher. Secondly they tend to disapprove of content which is irrelevant to the context of instruction, preferring instead to use material which is related to students' professional needs, their leisure and travel pursuits, and in terms of their age and the topics they may be said to identify with. The context of instruction is therefore seen as an important factor in evaluating the relevance of any piece of material. At the same time, teachers are aware that content can serve to construct English in ways which are problematic – examples provided are the continuing adherence to English of discourses of colonialism (whether simply by association with overtly British content, or by direct reference to the consequences of colonialism) and the uncritical celebration of the 'dominant culture' in which individualism, wealth and celebrity are central. Challenging such content in the classroom is seen as potentially problematic by some teachers, as students may be seen as customers and the teacher's own role understood as a neutral facilitator of language learning. Pennycook (1994) suggests that the increasing commercialization of ELT means that, in many contexts, teachers come to see themselves as technicians, trained to develop language skills, rather than educators with any broader remit.

In terms of content which met with approval, apart from that which was stereotype-breaking and seen as relevant to particular groups of students, the majority of teachers produced material which, although dealing with aspects of international culture or culture of the background studies type, was discussed largely in terms of its interactive and language-generating potential, rather than in terms of the content itself. Such a focus suggests that cultural content, when it is not seen as problematic, is viewed positively, *as a topic*, on account of its potential to generate talk – clearly one of the main aims of language teaching for the teachers in the study.

In terms of the last research question - How do practising teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching? - one of the key issues to emerge is that most informants view English as an international language and see their students as requiring it primarily for use with other L2 speakers. On this view, as has been mentioned elsewhere (e.g. Widdowson 1994; Cook 1999; Modiano 2001; McKay 2002; Alptekin 2002 *inter al.*), English is seen as no longer exclusively linked to any one country or the cultural life of any one group of people. At the same time, there is an awareness that in an increasingly globalized world there is a considerable degree of cultural convergence and that the differences which might have existed between Spain and other (mainly western) countries some years ago are now fewer in number.

The view that English is no longer necessarily linked to any one country or groups of speakers has a number of implications for these teachers. Firstly, that cultural content in the aesthetic and the sociological senses can vary considerably, depending on the context of instruction, and the interests and needs of the students. Incidentally, the teachers tended not to use the vocabulary provided by the Adaskou *et al.* (1990) framework – perhaps on account of their view of English as being learnt largely for lingua franca purposes in their context, or perhaps because such a vocabulary was relatively unfamiliar to them. However, the implications with regard to language are seen as more problematic, and here there is evidence of less consensus throughout the group.

The data suggest that in the context of English being taught for largely lingua franca purposes the norm-providing role of ‘native speakers’ from inner circle countries is rendered problematic. There was widespread agreement on the need to expose students to a greater range of accents on the tapes used in class, but in terms of a model of pronunciation, if any, for students to aim for, there was less certainty. Pilar was alone in making case for RP, while most ‘native speaker’ teachers were happy to see their own accent as the model for students to approximate. On the other hand, Eulàlia and Pere foresaw the emergence of new European or international models. However, Pere added, ‘having said that, I mean, what is world English or international English? I don’t know.’ This uncertainty is hardly surprising given the relatively recent emergence of data on such new forms of English (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2004). With regard to the language of politeness and the expression of pragmatic meaning more generally, teachers seemed to favour the rejection of overtly marked ‘native speaker’ features in favour of more neutral forms, although they were often constrained to teach these because of examinations. Doubts were also raised about the value of teaching a variety of English in which the idiomaticity of ‘native speakers’, particularly with regard to spoken English, played an important role. Finally, it was the culture of the students themselves which most teachers agreed on as being central to ELT – whether as the basis of the culture of the classroom, or as a ‘stepping stone’ for cross-cultural comparisons, or simply because of its potential to stimulate language practice.

8.7 Conclusion

This brings to an end the four chapters of data analysis in which the research questions have been explored with reference to the ‘circuit of culture’. The exploration consisted of the application of a descriptive framework to a set of ELT coursebooks; the attempt to explain the results of the description with reference to the publishers and the broader context in which they operate; and finally, to investigate what teachers thought about cultural content, and how they construed the relationship between culture and ELT. In the final chapter I return again to the research questions and I consider them in the light of what the ‘circuit of culture’ may be said to tell us about the nature of the global coursebook.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUDING REMARKS

9.1 Introduction

The origin of this thesis, as I explained in Chapter 1, lay in the initial desire to understand ELT coursebooks as embodiments of ‘particular constructions of reality’ (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991: 3). Along with Kullman (2003: 250), I took the view that such materials are both discursively constructed and simultaneously constructing of their users. Adopting an expanded view of culture, derived from cultural studies (e.g. Hall 1980a; 1983; 1997a), in which culture is understood as a process of meaning-making, I argued that such content made English mean in specific and highly selective ways. On this view, all ‘carrier content’ (see 1.2.1) contributes to the creation of meaning and is therefore cultural. I began with three autobiographical snapshots related to three aspects my professional life – as a classroom teacher, as a teacher trainer and as a materials writer. The snapshots raised issues about the nature and purpose of cultural content in the construction of the world of the coursebook, the involvement of ELT in processes beyond the linguistic and the pedagogic, and the type of systematic absences which characterize such materials. The overall aim of the thesis was defined as threefold: firstly, to describe the cultural content in a sample of ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain; secondly, to explain the form this content takes; and thirdly, to explore what practising teachers - as the primary consumers of such artefacts - think about this content, and by extension, how they construe the relationship between culture and ELT. These aims resulted in the formulation of a more specific set of research questions:

1. What form has cultural content taken in ELT global coursebooks produced in Britain since the 1970s?
2. Why has cultural content taken this form?
3. What views do practising teachers hold about the nature of cultural content?
4. How do practicing teachers construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching?

Given the cultural studies perspective which I adopted, these aims and questions led to the use of a modified form of the ‘circuit of culture’ (du Gay, Hall *et al.* 1997) as a means of exploring coursebooks from a variety of angles, all of which may be said to contribute to the construction of meaning. In this concluding chapter, I return to the research questions and I evaluate the usefulness of the ‘circuit of culture’ as a means of exploring an artefact such as the ELT coursebook. From there I move on to outline what I consider be the main implications of this thesis and I conclude by stating the limitations of the research and avenues for future investigation.

9.2 Research questions and the ‘circuit of culture’

In terms of the shape this research has taken, the questions posed were closely linked to the modified ‘circuit of culture’. The methodology chapters explained that the circuit was modified in two ways – firstly by pairing those moments where it was assumed that overlap most clearly occurred in the case of coursebooks (representation/identity and production/regulation); and secondly by approaching the moment of consumption through an audience research study. It will be recalled from Chapter 6 that consumption in the Sony Walkman study did not involve direct consultation of consumers. In this sense my approach is consistent with more recent attempts to draw on the ‘circuit of culture’ – for example, Benwell (2005) made a similar decision to mine in opting to interview a group of consumers of men’s magazines, on the grounds that it allowed for the closer exploration of the links between ‘content’ and ‘reception’ (in her formulation). Overall the ‘circuit of culture’ may be said to offer a productive basis on which to design a cultural study. Firstly, it allows for flexibility, given that the various moments on the circuit can be articulated differently with one another – depending on the type of study being conducted; secondly, it allows for the gathering and analysis of data in a variety of different ways, appropriate for different types of study (e.g. documentary evidence and interviews in the case of this thesis, involving content, discourse and social semiotic analysis); and thirdly, it a corrective to those approaches which privilege the moment of production (a point also made by Benwell [2005: 148]) or those which privilege the moment of consumption. As I argued in Chapter 6, the ‘circuit of culture’ sees meanings as being dispersed across a series of processes, none of which is privileged.

With regard to the first research question, the application of the descriptive framework advanced in Chapter 3 allowed for the identification of the representational repertoires in the coursebooks and suggested a high level of continuity in the representation of language - namely, a focus on standard British English, a privileging of RP/MRP accents and relatively little representation of outer/expanding circle varieties of English. However, despite the limited representation of phonological variation, there are no instances of syntactic variation and, in consequence, English is represented as largely invariant overall. At the same time, the pervasive sexism of the first coursebook from the 1970s was shown to have been superseded by an equally pervasive and evolving discourse of feminism which was accompanied by the increasing deployment of a discourse of liberal multiculturalism, and a progressive globalizing of content. There is a strong celebratory strand in the content of all the coursebooks analysed, and an ideology of white-collar individualism based on personal choice (particularly with regard to work and the use of leisure time) may be said to pervade the life stories of those represented. In terms of identity, the application of the framework suggests that students are positioned overall to respond to content as language learners for whom a limited range of responses are required. At the same time they are positioned as consumers, largely through the artwork to identify with a community of English speakers who are characterized by success, mobility and an increasing cosmopolitanism.

The turn to the publishers as the site of production and regulation proved insightful as a means of exploring answers to the second research question. The guidelines on inclusivity might be said to have provided a blue print for the construction of the representational repertoires with regard to women (and men), while those on inappropriacy shed light on systematic omissions. However, it was only when I examined the interview data with senior figures within a publishing house that I became aware of the tensions within ELT publishing itself around the representational practices to do with issues of sexuality, race and disability. These interviews also brought home to me a number of things: firstly, the extreme market-sensitivity of the publishers, and secondly, the use of the term 'aspirational' by all four informants to refer to lifestyle-oriented content which was deemed to be motivating for students in most settings. It was on this account that I turned my attention to the literatures on

visual communication, consumerism, and promotional culture as a means of exploring a more socially situated answer to the second research question. It is only by turning to this literature that the increasingly predominant role of the artwork can be theorized more adequately and the particular form which cultural content takes be more comprehensively understood. The literature on promotional culture suggests that the imaging of English, with a range of positive associations which seek to create identifications on the part of the viewer/student, may be said to place the coursebook in the same realm as that of other commodity-signs which proliferate in consumer culture.

Overall what emerges is a picture of a carefully constructed artefact only some of whose meanings resonate with those of the primary consumers. The interviews with the teachers, which addressed the third and fourth research questions, revealed broad approval for the representational practices associated with the deployment of the discourses of feminism and multiculturalism. Thus inclusive representations of gender and race were specifically mentioned by some teachers as examples of cultural content they viewed positively. However, other meanings were questioned and dissenting voices were raised over content which was seen as irrelevant to the context of instruction and the uncritical celebration of aspects of consumer culture. That said, it is particularly telling that Eulàlia, one of the most critical voices among the interviewees, repeatedly made the point that such materials very often ‘worked’ despite the flaws she perceived. As I pointed out in Chapter 8, material which produced talk was generally evaluated positively – even when the thematic content had been previously evaluated negatively by the same teachers. This suggests a view of language teaching as largely concerned with skill acquisition, and little in the way of any broader educational remit. Dissenting voices were also raised with regard to the representation of language. The teachers’ view of their own practice as largely concerned with the teaching of English as an international language meant that the ‘native speakerism’ of such materials was seen as problematic and not always relevant to students’ needs.

9.3 Implications of the thesis

In the light of the above, I suggest that the thesis has implications related to a number of areas - teacher education; the teaching of English as an international language; and the role of the global coursebook in the context of EIL.

9.3.1 *Teacher education*

In Chapter 2 I cited Edge and Richards (1998), who argue that the interstitial location of ELT commits researchers and practitioners to cross-disciplinary boundary work. And although others have made a similar case, Kullman (2003: 74) concludes that ELT remains typified by a state of ‘discourse paralysis’, whereby ‘the core discourse of ELT has arguably failed to incorporate perspectives from other related fields’. It is a view I share, particularly so in the light of this thesis. Two areas which stand out as being of direct relevance to teacher training and education are the usefulness of social semiotics as a means of analysing the visual component of coursebooks and a cultural studies perspective on culture.

Berger’s (1972: 129) assertion that ‘[i]n no other form of society in history has there been such a concentration of images, such a density of visual messages’ is one which bears repeating here. Even the most cursory look at ELT coursebooks produced in the early 1970s (and before) and those being produced today demonstrates clearly that the mode of address to the student has undergone a significant change – as the examples presented in Fig. 9.1 and 9.2 below demonstrate.

UNIT B SIX

HAS/HAVE BEEN vs. WAS/WERE
HAVE YOU EVER DONE? vs. WHEN DID YOU DO?
HAVE YOU DONE THAT YET?
DID IT FOR vs. HAS BEEN DOING IT FOR

66 HAS/HAVE BEEN vs. WAS/WERE

Problem Situations

- Ask someone else if he or she has ever been to
 (a) Paris (b) Rome (c) Berlin (d) Stockholm
 (e) Oxford (f) Prague
- Suppose the answer is "Yes" in each case. Ask
 and answer questions about:
 (a) When? (b) the weather? (c) Which hotel?
 (d) How much money?

67 GRAPHIC EXPOSITION

Notice the examples. They all start in some way
 in the Past and come into the Present.

WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN? (up to now or
 a second ago)
HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN AMERICA?
 (in all your life)
HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN HERE?
 (from the time you came to now)
HAVE YOU SEEN THE MANAGER? (I do
 not know WHEN or even IF. This is the only
 possible form.)
 Did you notice the form?

Now notice what happens as soon as we can
 put things into the Past circle or if we want to
 find out WHEN.

Notice the form!

I SAW THE FILM YESTERDAY.
I CAME HERE A WEEK AGO.
WHEN DID YOUR HAIR TURN GREY?
I WAS IN DALLAS IN NOVEMBER, 1963.

Think of Two Circles

One circle is
The Past

The other is
The Present

Now think of
a Third Circle
it is part of both
The Past and The Present

The Past

Fig. 9.1 English in Situations (O'Neill 1970)

The above is an example of one of only two pieces of artwork in the entire coursebook. The coding orientation of the visual modality (see 3.6.1) is what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) refer to as 'abstract', while that of the example below is described as 'naturalistic'.



Fig. 9.2 New Headway Pre-Intermediate (Soars & Soars 2000b)

More significant however is the relation between the signifier and the signified in both visuals. As Kress *et al.* (2001:5) state

In social semiotics [...] the assumption is that the relation between form and meaning, signifier and signified, is never arbitrary, but that it is always motivated by the interests of the maker of the sign to find the best possible, the most plausible form for the expression of the meaning that (s)he wishes to express.

While the first example may be said to have the aim of clarifying the grammar point, the second is altogether more complex and less evidently related to language acquisition. The deliberate intertextual reference to *Hello Magazine* (the acknowledgments show the photos were specially commissioned by the publishers) is an indication of the way in which contemporary coursebooks construct, not only English, but also the students who are learning it. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 30) suggest, students are increasingly addressed in pedagogic materials as ‘people whose interests need to be solicited and *won*, who need to be entertained, humoured’ – a mode of address which parallels contemporary developments in other genres, such

as advertising texts or news broadcasts. In this thesis I have argued that the use of such visuals forms a crucial element in the construction of the representational repertoires deployed in coursebooks whereby English is made to mean in specific ways. It could be argued that teachers, as primary consumers of coursebooks, would benefit from training in the use of the tools of social semiotics – to enable them to design appropriate materials, and to select and evaluate published materials more effectively. However, despite the role accorded to materials design and evaluation on many kinds of initial teacher training and teacher education programmes (e.g. Cambridge certificate and diploma courses) there is little evidence that artwork is seriously addressed. Current versions of Cambridge certificate and diploma syllabuses make no mention of artwork as part of any materials-related competence to be developed. Furthermore, books such as McGrath (2002) and Tomlinson (1998, 2003) which are aimed at Master's level students do not address the issue in any depth. The index to McGrath (2002) lists 'visual design' as a sub-heading under 'design of materials' and directs the reader to a single paragraph in which it is suggested that pedagogic considerations need to be balanced with the use of artwork. Tomlinson (2003) does include a chapter by Hill on the visual element – although the focus is not on what such artwork implies, but on how its potential for language practice is under-exploited. Interestingly, Hill describes artwork which students do not have to use or refer to directly as part of a task as 'decoration' (ibid: 176). My point in this thesis has been to argue that such artwork is a fundamental aspect of the imaging of English and far from purely decorative in purpose. This leads to my second implication, which is that by incorporating a cultural studies perspective on culture into teacher training and teacher education, issues of the type I have just raised can most usefully be explored.

Although culture ebbs and flows as a subject of interest in the ELT literature, the cultural studies perspective is rarely, if at all, addressed. This is not surprising. Culture is, as O'Sullivan *et al.* (1994: 190) describe, a 'multi-discursive' term - that is, its meanings and connotations vary according to the discourse in which it is being deployed. Thus, when Pulverness (2003: 427) suggests that a consequence of the rise of CLT in the 1970s 'was the marginalization, and at times the complete exclusion, of culturally specific content in publishing materials' he has to be understood as talking about a particular discursive conception of culture in which *background studies* played an important part. In fact, Stern (1983) and Larsen-Freeman (1986) saw CLT,

particularly in its appropriation of the concept of communicative competence based on the ‘native speaker’ and the use of so-called authentic materials as a move towards a greater cultural dimension in ELT. At the time, the latter suggested that culture in ELT could be understood as ‘the everyday lifestyle of people who use the language natively’ (ibid: 134). More recently, Kramsch (2005: 548-549) has assessed CLT similarly, arguing that it ‘brought language use down to the functional level of streets and supermarkets, under the emulation of the authentic white middle-class native speaker’. From a cultural studies perspective, culture is always present in the coursebook in the representational practices which are deployed in the creation of specific meanings – whether these are modelled on the ‘native speaker’ or not. Such content, however decorative, is always motivated.

Another reason for incorporating a cultural studies perspective is that it offers a non-essentialist view of culture – something I believe to be an important corrective for a profession which has been bedevilled by an essentializing tendency to construct students as culturally problematic. Although this has been contested (e.g. Pennycook 1998; Holliday 1999; Kubota 1999; Littlewood 1999), it will be recalled from Chapter 2 (see 2.9) that some handbooks for teachers continue to operate on the basis of a kind of cultural profiling whereby all classroom behaviours can be explained in terms of students’ national culture. Coursebooks too, as I pointed out in Chapter 5, continue this essentializing through the stereotypical representations of ‘good manners’ from around the world and the reproduction of lists of cultural ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ which are presented to students as rules.

Furthermore, a cultural studies perspective allows teachers to interrogate coursebooks in terms of the subject positions such materials posit for students. When looked at in this way, teachers can begin to adapt materials to allow for different kinds of responses. Holliday (2005) argues that as education has become increasingly commodified and learning constructed in terms of measurable outcomes the *student* has been recast as the *learner*. The latter, he explains

refers to only certain attributes of the person of the student as they are constructed in the classroom by teacher-designed events. ‘Student’, on the other hand, has always referred to a role in society which is occupied by the whole person (ibid: 68).

In fact, as we have seen above, students are increasingly constructed as consumers in coursebooks, particularly through the artwork. Thus trainee teachers, in particular, can be sensitized to this aspect of materials design and learn to adapt activities so that students may give voice to more ‘whole person’ responses should they wish to. Canagarajah (1999: 189) provides useful examples of how comprehension questions can be rewritten to allow for localized responses which call into play subject positions not anticipated by the material. And finally, the concept of a representational repertoire allows for the exploration of the discourses which the coursebook draws on (and those which it ignores) in the construction of English. The issue of how English is textually constructed can be seen as a matter of concern, particularly at the present time – which Edge (2004; 2006) describes as a new age of empire. The quotation from Document 5 in 7.2.2 above on the need for caution in portraying the US in a negative light is a reminder of the regulatory power of at least one ELT publisher in determining the way in which global powers can now be represented in coursebooks. Edge (2004) urges teachers to look again at the materials they use and to consider the worldviews they represent. Failure to do so, he suggests, constitutes a refusal to recognize the ways in which ELT is imbricated in wider global networks. Such issues need to be addressed on teacher training and education programmes if Kullman’s (2003) charge of discourse paralysis is to be redressed.

9.3.2 Teaching EIL: *phonological implications*

Jenkins (2003) explains that since the 1990s it has become common to refer to speakers of EFL (English as foreign language) as speakers of EIL (English as an international language) or ELF (English as a lingua franca), in recognition of the fact that they increasingly use English with other L2 speakers rather than with speakers of English as a native language (ENL). One of the outcomes from the interviews with the Barcelona teachers is that they largely see themselves as involved in the teaching of EIL. In my view, this has implications for the kind of language which is drawn on in the representation of English, if coursebooks are to be produced which prepare students adequately for lingua franca contexts.

However, as the analysis of the coursebooks showed, the English on offer is based on that of the idealized ‘native speaker’ who provides the majority of the examples of language being taught and functions as the model for students to imitate. Holliday (2005: 8) describes this as the ideology of ‘native speakerism’ and argues that it rests ‘on the assumption that ‘native speakers’ of English have a special claim to the language itself, that it is essentially their property’. Rampton (1990: 97) points out that the term ‘native speaker’ also implies that such speakers have an association with the language from birth; that they speak it well; that speakers are either ‘native’ or ‘non-native’; that a ‘native speaker’ has a comprehensive grasp of the language; and that ‘native speakers’ have a single mother tongue. Although such assumptions are shown to be highly questionable, the construct retains considerable power in ELT discourse and, as has been shown, generates and perpetuates iniquities, not least with regard to employment (McKay 2003; Leung 2005).

Teachers in the Barcelona data referred to ‘English as an international language’, ‘world hybrid English’, ‘world English’, international English’ and ‘Euro English’ as they discussed their views on culture and ELT coursebooks. These terms were not necessarily defined but they can be seen as indicative of an awareness on the part of many that English has become increasingly plural in very differing ways. What might the implications of such plurality be for classroom practice where students are possibly being prepared to take an international examination *and* need to engage in lingua franca interactions related to their work life? Clearly the challenges for those of us involved in ELT are great and the answers are far from straightforward.

With regard to phonology, at the receptive level there is a clearly expressed need to represent a wider range of accents in the listening materials. If students are to be prepared for interactions with speakers who do not use RP/MRP and who are not ‘native speakers’, it is surely necessary that listening materials must include a wider range of L2 speakers’ accents than those identified in the analyses presented earlier. Finding other L2 speakers intelligible will be partly the result of familiarity with the accents students are likely to encounter.

At the productive level, Jenkins’ (2000), concept of a phonological lingua franca core represents a move away from the imitative model of pronunciation contained in so

many ELT materials, towards one based on the identification of those phonological features which are considered essential for mutual intelligibility. Thus, for example, the contrastive use of tonic stress is considered essential, while the ‘th-’ sounds and the dark ‘l’ are considered non-core. Similarly, features of connected speech such as weak forms and assimilation are also held to be non-core. Such a form of pronunciation would be clearly marked as that of an L2 speaker – and perhaps all the better for that. Risager (2006) makes an interesting point with regard to the possible unforeseen consequences for students if only the prestige form of an accent is taught. It is worth quoting at length:

[I]t is characteristic for, in particular, foreign-language teaching that one learns to use (productively) a language variant that, in some vague sense or other, is characteristic of relatively educated people, with a regional accent mainly coming from major economic centres: capital or similar. It is possible to assume this social identity without realizing it: perhaps one simply believes that the language one is learning is, for example, English. A Dane who has a social background in a fishing environment on the North Sea coast, and who has a distinct West Jutland identity in his spoken Danish, learns, for example, a form of English that is most characterized by the leading social strata in London and its environs. The student in question may have no awareness of this considerable social reidentification resulting from the language learning, and may be incapable of taking this into account in his use of English when at some point he takes part in union meetings with fishermen from the east coast of England (ibid: 128).

The concept of a lingua franca core is predicated on the idea of the student assuming a language speaking identity which is not seen as an attempted reidentification with a specific kind of ‘native speaker’ norm, but as a norm in its own right – appropriate for a different kind of speaker who does not wish be constructed as an ersatz ‘native speaker’. But clearly the move from exposing students to L2 samples of English to teaching a reduced phonological core has major implications – given that ELT publishing and international examinations remain focused on the idealized native speaker. In the short term, teachers may have to consider strategies of sensitizing students to a repertoire of phonologies rather than any wholesale abrogation of international examination criteria - if students are not to be disadvantaged during what may prove to be a period of transition towards the general acceptance of such a phonological core.

9.3.3 Teaching EIL: grammatical and pragmatic implications

Canagarajah (2005: xxv) has argued that to continue to focus our teaching on a single dialect of English ‘fails to equip our students for real-world needs’. Such needs may also be said to imply exposure to a repertoire of grammars and ways of speaking which take into consideration the varieties of language students are likely to encounter or which they themselves may feel the need to deploy in particular contexts.

Seidlhofer’s (2004) report on initial analyses of the VOICE corpus of spoken ELF suggests that a number of features which would generally be categorized as errors in a language classroom do not lead to communication breakdown in ELF settings. These include:

- Dropping the third person present tense –s
- Confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*
- Omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL
- Failing to use correct forms in question tags (e.g. *isn’t it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn’t they?*)
- Inserting redundant prepositions, as in *We have to study about ...*
- Overusing certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do, have, make, put, take*
- Replacing infinitive-constructions with *that*-clauses, as in *I want that*
- Overdoing explicitness (e.g. *black color* rather than just *black*)

(Seidlhofer 2004: 220).

Furthermore, she points out that the VOICE data suggest that use of ENL idiomaticity in ELF settings can lead to miscommunication. Concerns about the usefulness of inner circle ‘native speaker’ idiomaticity were in fact discussed at length by Eulàlia and Montse in the previous chapter. Similarly, with regard to the language of politeness and the expression of pragmatic meaning more generally, many of the Barcelona teachers seemed to favour the rejection of overtly marked ‘native speaker’ features in favour of more neutral forms, seen as being appropriate for an EIL setting.

It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that Kramsch (1993) suggests that learning another language involves the struggle to find a voice that can carry the weight of the student's own cultural experience. Too often the voice, when it is heard – particularly in the classroom - is compared with the idealized standard of the 'native speaker' and judged to be in error. But as Leung (2005: 130) has argued 'there isn't a universal model of native speakers' use of language' and as part of his case for re-orienting the concept of communicative competence, following Roberts *et al.* (2001), he makes the case for epistemological relativity, reflexivity and critical consciousness. For ELT, the first of these 'means that one accepts that there are infinite ways of using language and that differences do not automatically call for judgemental evaluation' (Leung 2005: 138). Reflexivity consists in the willingness to question the basis for one's views on language use, while critical consciousness refers to an awareness of the ways in which English-speaking countries describe and analyse language and language pedagogy. In the light of this, with regard to classroom practice he advocates attention to standard and local Englishes while adding that it is important 'to tune in both established and emergent forms and norms of use' (ibid: 139).

Such emerging data may prove to have important implications for ELT pedagogy – although Seidlhofer (ibid) warns against drawing over-hasty conclusions at this early stage. Citing Widdowson (2003), she cautions that descriptions of language do not automatically translate into prescriptions for teaching. However, she does suggest that language teaching might *refer* to descriptions without actually *deferring* to them. This could mean that while teachers did not, for example, teach *who* and *which* as synonyms when used as relative pronouns, students might be exposed to such uses in recordings of lingua franca exchanges – on the basis that this is what they are likely to encounter in settings beyond the classroom. It might also mean sensitizing them to the use of idiomatic expressions and other features associated with ENL by drawing attention to the possible negative effects on an interlocutor in an ELF interaction.

9.4 EIL and the global coursebook

One of the themes to emerge from the data is that the context of use is an important factor in teachers' overall evaluation of a piece of material. Thus, material which 'worked' or was appropriate in one setting was judged to be unsuccessful or

inappropriate in another. However, the global coursebook is predicated on the claim that it is suitable for all contexts. Personal experience and the Barcelona data suggest that this is not the case.

A number of alternatives have been suggested. Freebairn (2000: 5) has suggested the possibility of a 'skeleton coursebook' available on CD-ROM which 'is supplemented by up-to-the-minute topical material, local mother-tongue supplements, and alternative activities for mixed-level classes' which could be downloaded from the Internet, and a kind of DIY online coursebook which students and teachers could assemble together, depending on level and interests. Elsewhere I have suggested that 'editionizing' might represent a way forward – whereby publishers produce more tailor-made versions of coursebooks for smaller groups of consumers (Gray 2002). Kumaravadivelu (2006) has argued that such a practice, while it might provide for greater diversity of subject matter does nothing to challenge the structural relationship between publishers and those who consume their products. The charge is justified, and difficult to address. Thornbury (2000b) has made the case for a pedagogy based on the 'dogme' principles associated with the work of the Danish film collective by the same name. Its preference for hand-held cameras and a rejection of artificial lighting is paralleled by Thornbury's rejection of published materials in favour of a pared-down pedagogy based on scaffolded talk. However, such an approach may not be suitable for many contexts.

Perhaps the best solution is that proposed by Pulverness (2003), who suggests that more regionally-based publishing projects involving teachers themselves (and students, I would add) may offer a way around the 'one size fits all' principle on which the global coursebook is based. However, in the absence of many such initiatives, Canagarajah (1999) points out that, in many developing world countries in particular, teachers have to make do with whatever materials are available. In such settings the development of critical reading skills becomes paramount. A similar situation may be said to obtain in inner and expanding circle classrooms as well. While publishers are unlikely to encourage critical reading of the texts they produce, it must fall to teacher education courses to make the case for this approach to adapting materials. Additional questions of the type suggested by Wallace (1992: 123, citing Kress 1985: 7) to those posed in the coursebook indicate a possible way of contesting

the one way flow of information in the classroom – ‘1. Why is this topic being written about? 2. How is this topic being written about? 3. What other ways of writing about this topic are there?’ Whatever the solution, it is clear from the Barcelona interviews that EFL coursebooks are seen to fall short in many respects of the requirements of materials for use in an EIL setting – at least in the opinion of this group of primary consumers.

But what form might cultural content take in a coursebook for the teaching of English as an international language? The answer, it seems to me, can only be determined locally. Throughout this thesis I have argued that cultural content has the function of making English ‘mean’ in particular ways. However, Hall’s (1986) concept of articulation reminds us that the meanings identified here are only some of many which are possible. Du Gay (1997: 3), it will be recalled, describes an articulation as

a linkage which is not necessary, determined, or absolute for all time; rather it is a linkage whose conditions of existence or emergence need to be located in the contingences of circumstances.

In fact, in parts of the expanding circle, English is already being rearticulated with discourses which are very different from those identified in this thesis.

Kumaravadivelu (2006) refers favourably to TESOL Islamia, an Abu Dhabi-based group of Muslim ELT professionals which came together in the wake of the Iraq invasion. Their objectives, which are listed on their website (www.tesolislamia.org), include commitments to:

promoting and safeguarding Islamic precepts and values in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language in the Muslim world [...] to ‘empowering’ Muslim learners to use the English language in ways that serve the [...] interests of Muslim communities worldwide [...] to raise awareness of the socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic implications of the growing expansion of English and English language teaching in the Muslim world.

The website, which is still clearly in its early days, provides downloadable materials for use in the classroom, a wide range of articles by scholars based in Middle Eastern and western universities, and an active discussion board for teachers. It is clearly

indicative of a thoroughgoing attempt to rearticulate English with a set of alternative Islamic discourses far removed from those found in British ELT global materials.

Clearly the Barcelona teachers have different interests and provide no indication that they seek to make English 'mean' along these lines. The point I wish to make is that the form cultural content takes is best decided by locals for whom English may have a range of meanings other than those determined for them by British ELT publishers. The Barcelona teachers expressed a wish for content that expressed the globality of English and at the same time a belief in the need for this to connect with the local world of the students. Such a view is at the heart of Pere's metaphor of coursebook content as a bridge between two worlds. Interestingly, similar positions are expressed on the TESOL Islamia website – for example, in a paper by Asraf (1996) advocating the need for Muslim students to study texts from both western and local sources with a view to raising student awareness of the nature of cultural differences.

9.5 Conclusion

In Chapter 1 I referred to teachers as the primary consumers of ELT coursebooks. Even in educational contexts where coursebooks are chosen by Ministries of Education, teachers retain considerable power in deciding how they are used in the classroom. For this reason, and given the scarcity of research on teacher thinking with regard to materials, I made the decision to focus on the moment of consumption as it related to teachers. However, as Hall (1992c) suggests, the outcomes of research are always partial – in the sense that interpretations are always situated, and in the sense that a complete picture is never arrived at. With this limitation in mind, I suggest that there is a clear need for research into the ways in which language students make sense of ELT materials and the meanings which such artefacts have for them. It will be recalled that Snapshot 1 suggested that the meanings which teachers and students construct from materials can be very different. Prowse (1998: 141) suggests that it would be 'interesting to compare the reactions of learners from different cultures to today's highly designed full colour coursebooks'. However, little is known about student thinking on the subject of materials generally, and in particular on the issue of cultural content. As Donovan's (1998) insider account of an ELT publishing house's

piloting of materials shows, the process is almost exclusively focused on teachers and there is a minimum of direct consultation with students themselves.

Secondly, as Littlejohn (1998) points out, analysing materials is a very different matter from analysing materials-in-action. By the same token, talking to teachers about cultural content in coursebooks, and the ways in which they construe the relationship between culture and English language teaching, is very different from conducting research in which the focus is on the ways in which those teachers actually use such materials in the classroom. Therefore I would suggest there is also a need for classroom-based research, to bolster that of Hutchinson and Torres (1994) and Canagarajah (1999), in which the focus is on cultural content and the ways in which it is (re)interpreted, deployed and contested in a variety of ELT settings.

In Chapter 3 I stated that this research was carried out in the spirit of criticality which has typified a strand of applied linguistics thinking for over a decade and a half. It will be clear from much of what I have said, and in common with many of the teachers interviewed, that I view the ELT global coursebook as a deeply problematic artefact. Following Forhan and Scheraga (2000) and Anderson (2002), I would suggest, that for change to occur and for coursebooks to become more useful to teachers and students alike, we have to become sociopolitically active in making the case for alternative articulations of English to those currently on offer. That means making the case for change in a variety of ways – one of which is through the carrying out and the publication of our research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Littlejohn's (1992) framework

Process	Product
<u>Levels of inference</u>	<u>Related aspects of the material</u>
	<i>Realisation</i>
Level 1:	Place of the learner's materials in set
'What is there'	Published form of learner's materials
	Subdivision of learner's materials
	Subdivisions of sections in subsections
	Continuity
	Route
	Access
	<i>Design</i>
Level 2:	Subject matter and focus
'What is required of users'	Types of teaching/learning activities
	Participation: who does what with whom
Level 3	Aims
'What is implied'	Principles of selection
	Principles of sequencing
	Teacher roles
	Learner roles (classroom)
	“ “ (in learning)
	Role of materials as a whole

Appendix 2

Sercu's (2000) framework

I	Location			
	1.1 Title of book			
	1.2 Page			
	1.3 Unit			
	1.4 Subsection			
	1.5 Number assigned on the page			
II	Characters			
	1.1 Age of characters			
	1.2 Gender of characters			
	1.3 Situation of interaction			
III	Cultural dimensions represented			
	Culture(s) addressed/	micro level	macro level	international and
	Dimensions of culture addressed			intercultural issues
	Own culture	x	x	x
	Foreign culture	x	x	x
IV	Countries represented			
V	Intercultural contacts			
	5.1 Type of intercultural contact			
	5.2 Type of background for intercultural contact			
	5.3 Type of intercultural situation			
VI	Didactic approach			
	6.1 Point of view of authors			
	6.1.1 Multiperspectivity – monoperspectivity			
	6.1.2 Qualitative direction of point of view			
	6.2 Text-types used			
	6.2.1 Text-types			
	6.2.2 Visuals			
	6.3 Task types			
	6.3.1 Educational potential of tasks			
	6.3.2 Main objective of tasks			
	6.3.3 Level of co-operation required			
	6.3.4 Other task characteristics			
	- address pupils' prior knowledge about the foreign culture			
	- address pupils' attitude to the foreign culture			
	- address pupils' own cultural frame of reference			
VII	Space			

Appendix 3

Coursebook title: Streamline English Connections

Level: Pre-intermediate

Number of units: 80

Length of course: 80 50-minute lessons

Language systems: grammar of standard British English; no syntactic variation represented; spoken ‘expressions’ (e.g. By the way; Don’t worry) taught in 45 units; 11 units of functional ‘everyday conversation’ focus mainly on service encounters; additional focus on introductions/offers/advice; lexis is topic based; focus on RP/MRP

Abbreviations: m = male; f = female; TB = teacher’s book; SB = student’s book; cp = controlled practice; q/a = question and answer; a/w = artwork; RP/MRP = RP/modified RP; RUK = regional UK; IIC = international inner circle; OEC = outer/expanding circle

Unit	Topic	Characters (real/fictional; sex; age; ethnicity; job)	Text type/point of view/treatment	Location	Tape	Task type	Artwork/General comments
1: All Aboard!	Travel	Group of Anglophone tourists (English, American, Australian, Canadian). Fictional characters. All young/middle-aged adults. Exception is old man; white; jobs mentioned are ship’s captain, bank worker; clearly foregrounded waitress.	Narrative + 3 dialogues Treatment is comic – captain’s name is Nelson; bank worker puts his foot in it; old man is deaf	Ship’s deck	Reinforces comedy – bank worker has ‘nerdy’ voice; range of accents; f RP/MRP narration; m IIC (US); f RUK (Scottish); m/f RP/MRP; 2 m RUK	Comprehension qs. CP exchange of personal information; drills; TB has personalized transfer qs e.g. Have you ever been to Gibraltar? Role play: host and guests. Host offers food/drinks etc.	Colour caricature drawing; characters grouped in pairs; older men are more formally dressed with ties, or bowties; younger in T-shirts; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; two-page spread – crowd is salient through use of colour; viewer positioned on deck with passengers
	Personal identification				Inter-rater reliability 100%		
					Total: 4m/3f		
	Services	Fictional; young adults; white; jobs not specified Text: 4m/4f A/w: 2m/2f	4 situational dialogues	Offices; switchboard; phone booth	Telephonists 1–3 3f RUK (midlands); callers 1f/2m RP/MRP; 4 th 2m RP/MRP and speaking clock f	No comprehension qs Substitution drills TB has transfer qs about telephoning in ss’ country e.g. Is there a speaking clock in your country?	b/w social realist photo - 2f /2m; only men featured behind a desk; one woman is a switchboard operator and the other is using a public phone; narrative;
2:	Telephoning						

3: Fizz is fantastic!

Other (detergent)	Fictional; male expert and housewife; young adults; white	Parody of tv detergent ad	Kitchen	RP/MRP Total: 4m/5f 'Hammy' m RP/MRP expert; f RUK (Scottish) Total: 1m/1f	Comprehension qs in TB only. Drills; TB transfer ex include personalization (Do you wash your clothes?) and instructing T how to cook/make various things e.g. omelette; cup of tea etc. Comp qs in TB; drills; Transfer is personalization about sport e.g. Do you like gymnastics? Have you ever done the high jump?	offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right composition
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4: Olympic Report

Free time, entertainment	Fictional news story - 2 females (US, Russian) and 3 males (1 Canadian, 2 UK) (Female Russian gymnast is 15)	Parody of sports programme/comic – Canadian javelin is Jack Lumber; UK athletes not good – one almost hits a judge with his javelin, the other crashes in to the bar on high jump	1976 Montreal Olympic games on British tv	4m RP/MRP Total: 4m	Colour realist photos from Montreal games; CP refers to real athletes from games; I6 photos – 4 show women; all athletes are white with the exception of black male receiving medal; narrative; offer (intro screen is demand – but too small to count); medium to far; eyelevel; collage composition; left/right	
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5: I'll be there

Other (two spies/ criminals exchange information)	Fictional; 2 males; (1 30s, 1 50s); white; spies?	Spy story/crime fiction	Street scene	m RP/MRP; m RUK (estuary-ish) Total: 2m	Sentence transformation, drills and personalization e.g. Will you be here next ...?	b/w/w fictional drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; artwork dominates page; text in sky at top
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6: Monday morning

Trade, profession, occupation	Fictional. Male/ female holding crying baby; 30s; white; tv interviewer/housewife	Dialogue – scene from a marriage	Kitchen	m RP/MRP calm; f NRUK emotional Total: 1m/1f	CP is q/a practice about dialogue characters. Comp qs in TB. Transfer is personalization e.g. When'll you go abroad again?	b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right; CP a/w is conceptual; demand with speech bubbles; medium; eyelevel; left/right
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7: Doctor Sowanso

Travel	Fictional Dr Sowanso; male; middle-aged; probably black; secretary general UN	Narrative – celebration of an interesting life – role seen as one involving a lot of international travel	New Delhi; Nairobi; London; New York	m RP/MRP Total: 1m	Comp qs in SB; drills; Transfer is personalization e.g. Would you like to be Secretary General?	Colour realist drawing; use of red arrows in a/w suggest action; overall collage effect – conceptual/ individual narratives; offer; medium; eyelevel; composition is left/right but with NY at top and larger
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8: Sleep and Dreams

Other (sleep and dreams)	A/w only: 1 fictional mid-aged m/1 fictional young f	Questionnaire in magazine about sleeping/dreaming	-	No tape	Questionnaire; Transfer is personalization e.g. Have you ever used an electric blanket? Do you have nightmares? Colour graphic q/aire superimposed on 'Pre-Raphaelite' a/w of a sleeping/dead woman being rowed in a boat in the shadow of a turreted castle. Colour is entirely blue – of various washed out tones; man old, bearded; girl young with lily clasped to breast; both white; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; framed as page in magazine
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9: At the chemist’s

Shopping	Fictional; 3 female assistants; 1 male pharmacist; 2 male customers, 2 female; all young adults except middle-aged pharmacist	4 situational dialogues	Chemist’s Not comic – but intonation is unusual in 4 th 9 (bad acting?)	3f RUK (estuary); f RP/MRP; f advanced RP; m RUK (estuary); 2m RP/MRP	CP substitution drills -> role play in a chemist’s
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Total: 3m/5f

10: Lord Worth

Other (a lord tells servants what he wants)	Fictional; 2 young adults (maid; chauffeur); 1 middle-aged (lord); 1 old (butler); white	3 dialogues; comic a/w	Stately home	2m advanced RP; m/f RUK (estuaryish)	b/w caricature drawing; collage; narrative; offer; medium; LW seen from below in 2 of 3; left/right
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Text: 3m/5f

A/w: 3m/5f

Total: 3m/1f

11: Look, feel, taste, sound, smell

Other (how things look, feel, taste, sound and smell)	Fictional; young to middle aged adults; white; waiter	5 dialogues; comic a/w	Street; restaurant; 3 x home	3f/6m RP/MRP; m RUK (hint of Liverpool); male customer with 'hammy' angry voice	Colour caricature drawing; collage; narratives; offer; medium; eyelevel; text made salient by zigzagging down middle of page
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Text: 7m/3f

A/w: 7m/3f

CP drills; Transfer has personalization about ss' possessions/clothing – 'That looks nice ...' Instruction to T: Get students to comment and ask questions on each other's clothing and possessions'.

12: A science fiction story

Other ('discovery' of the earth by beings from another planet)	Fictional; young adults; white; astronauts	Narrative; fantasy; twist at the end – Adam and Eve	Open air	m RP/MRP; electronic music b/ground	Colour fictional drawing; narrative; offer; medium; looking up; salient through
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Total: 7m/3f

13: It’s much too hot!

Text: 1m/1f A/w: 1m/ 1f	Travel	Dialogues; comic – 17 yr old sister getting married to 60 yr old; she’s packed too much in cases; he complains; she gets her way	On train platform; in train; at destination	Total: 1m m/f RP/MRP	Comp qs in TB; CP is sentence transformation; drills; transfer is personalization e.g. Can you climb Everest?/ read Shakespeare? Play football for your country?	use of colour, size of elements; over half the page b/w caricature drawing; collage; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right
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14: A phone call

Fictional; young adults; white	Relations with other people	Dialogues; she’s stood him up; poor excuses (had to wash hair); went out with boss’s son instead.	Mary’s home	m/f RP/MRP	Comp qs in SB; drills; q/a written practice	b/w realist photo; narrative; offer; medium; viewer looks down on her, up to him; he’s framed separately and smaller – higher up page
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15: Army Careers Office

Text: 1m/1f A/w: 1m/1f	Trade, profession, occupation	Dialogue; comic; sergeant tries to appear more polite when he thinks he’s got a recruit	Army career’s office	2m RUK; sergeant is mixture of accents (Cockney, Scottish), all in ‘barking’ sergeant speak; recruit is west countryish	Comp qs in TB; Written CP in SB; drills; transfer is personalization e.g. ‘Will you have to do military service?’	Colour caricature drawing; narrative (recruit seen from behind sergeant and smaller); offer; medium; eyelevel; salient - bottom half of page
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Text: 2m
A/w: 5m/2f

16: A traffic survey

Text refers to fictional participants in survey – Mr Brown (he’s 58), Mr & Mrs Wilson (both over 65), Mary Mackintosh (20), Bob Brewer (25)	Places	Narrative – high modality text; some results of survey – but no dates provided	Oxford	f RP/MRP	Comp qs in TB; drills; skeleton sentences; transfer is personalization e.g. Can you drive? How long have you been able to drive?	TB gives information about professional army in UK and absence of military service Colour realist photos; conceptual structure; offer; medium; viewer standing (positioned as pedestrian); whole text superimposed on Oxford street scene
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17: Australia House

Text: 3m/2f A/w: 4m/1f	Other (emigration to Australia)	3 dialogues; comic – Miss B wants to meet a man and Mr C has no qualifications, a bad back, and just wants to leave England.	Australia House	Total: 1f m IIC (Australian interviewer); m RUK (west country); f/m RUK (cockneyish)	Comp qs in TB; drill; gap-fill in SB; role play of Australia House emigration interview	b/w caricature drawing; collage; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; zigzag composition causes comic a/w to dominate page Miss B higher than interviewer
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Text: 3m/1f
A/w: 5m/1f

18: Cheques and credit	Services	4 situational dialogues; not comic	3 x bank; 1 x shop	Assistants: 2f/1m RP/MRP; f RUK (mild regional); customers: f/m RP/MRP; 2m IIC (US/ Canadian)	Substitution drills; transfer e.g. Have you ever cashed a cheque in England? What time are banks open in England? What about your country?	b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel except 1 st which is higher to show cheque; left/right Customers higher than assistants/clerks
	Shopping	Fictional; 4 male/ 4 females (1 female customer; 3 female shop assistants/bank clerks; 1 male). All appear young adults except older shop assistant and middle-aged customer; white		Text: 4m/4f A/w: 4m/7f		
	Travel	Fictional; 4 males/1 female. Mr H, the main character appears older; all others young adults.	UK Travel agent's; Egypt	f/m RP/MRP; 3m OEC (guides and sailor)	Comp qs; drills; CP q/a practice; Transfer – How hot is it in your country in July?	Colour realist drawing Collage; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right Mr H higher than travel agent
20: Comparisons	Other (comparisons of how people walk, type, drive, speak English and play football)	Narratives; not comic	Uk – two scenes from a village	f RP/MRP	Comp qs; drills; written CP to make sentences with adverbs	Colour realist drawing; collage; narrative; offer; medium; looking up at OAP (to show problem they have with hill); man higher than woman; eyelevel for bricklayers; only two texts illustrated; layout permits masking of both texts
				Total: 1f		
21: A day off work	Other (taking a day off work to go to a football match)	Narrative/dialogue; comic element – both boss and employee want to watch match instead of work	Home/office	2m/1f RP/MRP; f narrator RP/MRP	Comp qs; drills; retell story using pictures	b/w realist drawing; collage; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right; men higher than women
				Total: 2m/2f		
22: Applying for a job	Trade, profession, occupation	Dialogues; not comic	office	2m/1f RP/MRP	Comp qs; drills; CP gap-fill; transfer ss ask true qs about each other e.g. You're Brazilian, aren't you?	b/w graphics; man applying for export salesman position; less educated woman for secretarial job
				Total: 2m/1f		

23: Four disasters	Other (natural disasters)	‘Fictional; 4 males (tv prog presenter; non-specified office job; farmer; on holiday, 1 female (on holiday); Text: 4m/1f A/w: 1m/1f Fictional; Mary (student) to John Text: 1m/1f A/w: -	Parody of tv programme; serious	British tv – Chicago; South Pacific; UK; Caribbean	m RP/MRP intro; m/f IIC (US); m RUK (northern); m RP/MRP Total: 4m/1f	Comp qs; drills; sentence completion -> writing of same	Colour realist photos – one b/w; conceptual structure; left/right
24: A letter from Paris	Relations with other people		Narrative/personal letter; serious	Paris/Manchester	No tape	Comp qs; drill; skeleton sentences; Transfer is personalization e.g. Can you speak English well enough yet? Have you made a lot of friends since you came to this school? Substitution drills; comprehension qs; ss write announcements to be read during flight	Colour graphics
25: Travelling by air	Travel	Fictional; female check-in staff; elderly man checking in; three younger travellers; middle-aged security guard; 3 men in cockpit- one visible – middle-aged - only 1 speaks. Text: 6m/1f A/w: 8m/1f	4 situational dialogues	airport	1f/ 6m RP/MRP Total: 6m/1f	b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; looking down in two of the four photos; doesn’t connote symbolic power – rather it reduces the participants in such a way that they seem, in conjunction with the other photos, as elements in a much bigger series of processes – checking in, waiting to board, being body checked, having a team of people in the cockpit responsible for your security; left/right; man higher than woman Main a/w is b/w fictional drawing; narrative; offer; medium; looking down; dominates page (generates 3 target structure sentences); other drawings much smaller in comparison – much lower modality Colour caricature drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; dominates page and reinforces comedy –	
26: I’ve cut myself!	Other (cutting oneself with a knife; Romeo and Juliet; fictional rock musicians; wedding anniversary; an electric cooker)	11 fictional characters; 6f; 5m; drawings all suggest young adults Text: 5m/6f A/w: 3m/3f	5 dialogues	Not all specified – radio/tv programme; work; kitchen	3m/4f RUK ; 2m/2f RP/MRP Total: 5m/6f	Drill; gap fill in SB; comp qs; Transfer e.g. Can you play a musical instrument? Can you type/ski/ dance?	
27: Choosing a pet	Shopping (for a quiet pet)	Fictional; woman shopping for pet for son; shop assistant – middle-aged; white	Dialogue; comic	UK	m/f RUK (man has ‘funny’ voice; regional)	Drill; comp qs; transfer e.g. Did you have a pet when you were young? Has your landlady got a	

28: Checking an alibi

Other (bank robbery)	Text: 1m/1f A/w: 1m/1f			Total: 1m/1f	pet?	man with bandaged hands; woman having ankle gnawed etc.
	Fictional: robber (36, male, white), girlfriend, interviewing policeman, shot security guard. All shown ethnicities are white. Suspect is a car salesman.		Mixed – n/paper story; statement of witness; comic elements e.g girlfriend is Isadora Bell.	f RP/MRP narrator; 2m RUK (policeman and Smithers both estuaryish)	Comp qs; drill; gap-fill; Transfer: You speak French, don't you?	Man higher than woman Mixed modality – 2 page spread; b/w based graphics (mock-up of n/paper, statement) + b/w photo of crowd and police out a Nat West bank in London.
	Text: 2m/1f A/w: 7m/4f			Total: 2m/1f		Narrative: offer; long shot; eyelevel; left right; Interrogation is realist b/w drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right

29: Dinner with friends

Food and drink	Fictional; 30s; white	4 situational dialogues	Home	2m/2f RP/MRP	Substitution drills	The City and Ascot explained in TB b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right men higher than women
Relations with other people Other (footballer leaves wife and team to go to Spain with Swedish actress)	Text: 2m/2f A/w: 2m/2f Fictional; reporter; football manager; footballer; wife; girlfriend; All young except manager (40s-50s); white (Swedish g/friend)	Narrative; dialogues; comic – angry manager is called Huff	Football stadium; home; villa in Spain	Total: 2m/2f f RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP reporter; 2m/1f RUK (northern) for manager, wife, footballer.	Drills; comp qs; sentence transformation in SB	Colour realist drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel (but looking up slightly in villa shot; right/left; men higher than women
	Text: 3m/2f A/w: 3m/2f Fictional; middle-aged; white; business types			Total: 3m/2f		

31: So am I

Travel		Dialogue; British trope of holidaying in Spain and trying to avoid the English; comic - both going to same place	Bus stop	m RP/MRP; m RUK (estuary-ish)	Drills; transfer is personalization e.g. I've got a car (So have I); I was in a discotheque last night, etc.	b/w caricature drawing; narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking up at them; left/right
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32: A family problem

Relations with other people	Text: 2m A/w: 2m Fictional; daughter, father, boyfriend. Father is Lord Worth from Unit 10; white; only job mentioned is drummer.	Letters; comic – Samantha is superficial; w/end together not a success; boyfriend and father did not get on	London/Hampshire	f RP/MRP; m adv RP	Drills; comp qs; personalization e.g. What are you interested in? (tired of, worried about, pleased with)	b/w graphics (+ b/w photo of drummer - offer); conceptual; cursive for daughter; typed for father
				Total: 1f/1m		

33: The Yes/No Contest	Free time, entertainment	Fictional; presenter and woman with gong young adults; winner middle-aged; white	Parody of tv programme; comic	UK	m RP/MRP (presenter); 1f/2m RUK (northern) Total: 3m/1f	Drills; ss play yes/no game in front of class	Colour caricature drawing; narrative; offer (gong woman looks at viewer – demand); medium; eyelevel; a/w dominates page; left/right
34: I used to ...	Other (what people used to do in the past)	Text: 3m/2f A/w: 2m/1f Fictional – 4 scenes: (man/woman (housewife); housewife/mother; footballer/ interviewer; child/father); all young adults except mother of woman and baby; white	Dialogues; comic (2 emotional woman)	UK/villa in Spain	f RUK (estuaryish)/ m RP/MRP; f RUK (Welsh)/ f RP/MRP; m PR/MRP/ m RUK (northern); 2m RP/MRP Total: 5m/3f	Drills; comp qs; personalization – sentences about what ss used to do as children; transfer e.g. Have prices changed in your country?	Colour realist artwork; Two scenes illustrated: housewife – narrative; offer; medium; looking down; left/right combo; Footballer: narrative; offer; medium; viewer stranding; drawing on left – just above dialogue
35: A busy office	Trade, profession, occupation	Text: 4m/4f A/w: 2m/2f Fictional; 3 m/2 f; all young adults except middle-aged man; white; boss; PA to boss; clerks	Dialogues; comic – boss is Mr Power/ secretary Miss Wright	UK	2m/1f RP/MRP (all have positions of power); m/f RUK (estuaryish) Total: 3m/2f	Drills; TPR; sentence transformation in SB and in oral transfer	b/w caricature drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right
36: The smuggler	Other (smuggling)	Text: 3m/2f A/w: 3m/2f Fictional; 1 old/ 1 middle-aged; North American; white; customs officer; smuggler	Narrative/dialogue; comic	North America	f RP/MRP narrator; 2m IIC (North American) Total: 2m/1f	Comp qs; drills; Transfer e.g. Have you ever been abroad?	b/w fictional drawing; narrative; offer; medium to long; looking up at them; drawing dominates page – text on road at bottom of page
37: I’m bored	Free time, entertainment	Text: 2m A/w: 2m Fictional; 6 m/2 f; young adults Text: 6m/2f A/w: 2m/2f	Dialogues; comic (embarrassing story) + a/w	UK	m/f RP/MRP; m/f RUK (Cockney); 2m RP/MRP; 2m RUK (northern)	Drills; comp qs; transfer e.g. Have you ever seen a horror film? Have you heard (the bad news)? e.g. ‘ pollution, nuclear war,	Colour caricature drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right

38: Advice

Other (advice on losing weight, practising English, working too hard)	Fictional; 20s-30s; white (2 foreign male ss); 2 office workers	Dialogues; not comic	UK	Total: 6m/2f 2f RP/MRP; 2m OEC; f/m RP/MRP	population, etc.’ Drills; CP is write advice for people in 3 situations; transfer is respond to T’s cues e.g. I’ve got a friend ... he wants to lose weight. Drills; sentence transformation; TPR; Qs about famous people e.g. Who was Christopher Columbus? He’s the man that discovered America (Neil Armstrong; Shakespeare; Lee Harvey Oswald; Pele; Beethoven) Drills; comp qs; sentence transformation in SB	Colour realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking down on 2; 1 eyelevel; zigzag – starts left/right
Food and drink	Fictional; 2 m/2 f; young adults; white	Dialogue; comic – story about student who wasn’t bright marrying a woman with lots of money and now not needing to wk	UK	Total: 3m/3f f/m RP/MRP	b/w caricature drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; triptych; left/right combo; both men higher than women	

39: An evening out

40: I’ve been waiting ...

Other (office, dance hall, doctor’s surgery, restaurant settings to practise ‘I’ve been – ing ...)	Fictional; a/w suggests 6 young adults; 3 middle-aged adults; white; PA and clerk from Unit 35; nurse; waiter	Dialogues; comic – e.g. woman in huff b/cause husband is dancing with another woman; Dr Savage; middle-aged man can’t get waiter’s attention b/cause he’s too busy chatting up lone female customer	Work; dance hall; surgery; restaurant	Total: 3m/6f 1m/2f RUK; 4f RP/MRP; m advanced RP; m OEC	Colour caricature drawings; narrative; offer; medium; 2 eyelevel; 1 looking up (from perspective of person who has been waiting); left/right; combo; All men higher than women	
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41: A court case

Other (bank robbery)	Fictional. female witness and male lawyer; male and female robbers feature in a/w). Low modality – mixture of young adults and middle-aged adults. White.	Narrative; dialogue	UK courtroom	Total: 2m/1f m RP/MRP narrator; m RP/MRP (lawyer); f RP.MRP (witness)	Colour realist drawing; narrative; offer; medium to long; eyelevel; initial left/right then main text below the courtroom scene; 2 x men higher than women; female witness is just higher than judge	
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42: The Empty Chair

Other (pseudo ghost story)	Fictional; main characters are: male dr; male patient; teenage daughter; her parents) – white male represented	Narrative; dialogue	Dr’s surgery; breakfast room in b’n’b	Total: 4m/2f m RP.MRP narrator; 2m RP.MRP; 2f/1m RUK (west country)	Comp qs; drills	b/w realist photo; narrative (interaction implied with patient) ; demand; medium; viewer seated; right/left
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43: How long?
How much?

Other (borrowing money, reading a book, driving a car, typing)	4 dialogues	Bank manager's office; home; petrol pump; office	2m/1f RP/MRP; 1m RUK (Scottish); 1m/3f RUK (estuaryish) Total: 4m/4f	Comp qs; skeleton sentences in SB; drill; transfer e.g. How long have you been studying English?/ this course?	b/w realist drawings Narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right
A/w: 1m Fictional; all young adults except bank manager and man requiring loan; petrol pump attendant; office workers; white					

Text: 4m/4f
A/w: 4m/4f

Other (pointing things out to others)

Comp qs; drills; sentence transformation in SB

Colour realist drawings; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right

44: Look!

Text: 8m/2f
A/w: 9m/4f
Fictional; at least two young adults; white (teacher is French) student; teacher

Relations with other people

Comp qs; skeleton sentences. Transfer: **Have you bought anything this week? Have you stayed in any hotels abroad? Is this city boring or exciting?** + qs about being a ss e.g. **Have you been listening to yourself in the language laboratory? Has it helped you? Are you satisfied with your English yet?**

Colour-based graphics

45: Another letter from Mary

Text: 2m/1f
A/w: -

46: Booking in advance

Fictional; all young adults except elderly caller in dialogue 4

Home; theatre box-office; ticket office in coach station; hairdresser's

5m/2f RP/MRP; f RUK (northern); hairdresser has camp voice; 1m has staccato delivery, suggesting some kind of speech impediment?

Substitution drills; ss role play booking a table; tickets for a concert; excursion; hairdresser's

b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel – looking slightly down on coach station exchange; left/right; m higher than f

47: A new job

Trade, profession, occupation

work

Total: 5m/3f
2f RP/MRP
Total: 2f

Comp qs; drills; personalization e.g. What do you like doing in

b/w realist photo; narrative; offer; medium; looking down on them; left/right

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53: The Daily News	Other (oil tanker collision and other news items)	Fictional Text: 1m A/w: -	Newspaper stories	UK	No tape	Comp qs; transfer e.g. Do you like walking along cliffs? Have you taught yourself anything? Would you like to learn another language? Drills; comp qs; CP is skeleton sentences about a similar male OAP who is a karate expert; free reproduction is retelling using pictures Drills; comp qs; skeleton sentences; transfer is e.g. What'll you do when you get home? And make plans for an important visitor to the school	Colour graphics (with b/w photo)
54: A mugging	Other (mugging)	Fictional; pensioner/2 young m; white Text: 2m/1f A/w:2m/1f	Narrative; comic – the granny is a judo expert	South London	f RP/MRP Total: 1f	Drills; comp qs; CP is skeleton sentences about a similar male OAP who is a karate expert; free reproduction is retelling using pictures Drills; comp qs; skeleton sentences; transfer is e.g. What'll you do when you get home? And make plans for an important visitor to the school	b/w realist drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right men above woman until she fights back
55: An important visitor	Other (royal visit to town)	Fictional; mayor, secretary, mayor's son/Queen); white; adults are middle-aged Text: 3m/1f A/w: 6m/2f	Narrative; monologue	UK	f RP/MRP narrator; m RUK secretary (northern) Total: 1m/1f	Drills; comp qs; skeleton sentences; transfer is e.g. What'll you do when you get home? And make plans for an important visitor to the school	b/w caricature drawing narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; top/bottom
56: General Hospital	Health and welfare	No characters except blurred jockeys in photo. Text: 3m/5f A/w: 8m/9f	Narrative; dialogues; comic elements – Dr Payne and child in A and E with a saucepan on his head.	hospital	m RP/MRP narrator; 2m/3f RP/MRP; 2f/1m RUK. (2 of these are 'funny' emotional voices)	Drill; comp qs; skeleton sentences	Colour realist drawing; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; texts at top and bottom – all a/w in middle; m higher than f
57: At the races	Free time, entertainment	No characters except blurred jockeys in photo. Text: 3m/5f A/w: 8m/9f	Narrative; race commentary	UK - Hampshire	Total: 4m/5f 2m/1f RP/MRP Total: 2m/1f	Comp qs	Colour realist photo; narrative; offer; far; eyelevel; text below photo and graphics – list of horses, odds, key to form
58: On the road	Other (getting a parting ticket; speeding) Services	'Real'; young-middle-aged adults; white; woman is traffic warden; policeman; mechanic Text: 4m/2f A/w: 3m/1f	4 situational dialogues	On street/road	1f/2m RP/MRP; 2m/f (estuaryish) Total: 4m/2f	Substitution drills and acting out of dialogues	b/w social realist photos; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel (except for traffic warden and policeman – looking down); left/right
59: A trip to Paris	Travel	Fictional. 2 m / 1 f referred to. Letters refer to Mary and John. P	Business letters/telegrams	Manchester/Paris	No tape	Drills; letter to reserve a room in a UK hotel and telegram to friend with	b/w graphics nb cultural information

	Danton is assistant hotel manager.		Narrative; dialogues	UK	Drills; comp qs; sentence transformation; transfer e.g. Before you came to this school: had you met any English/American people?; had you seen any films in English?; had you been to an English-speaking country?	about terms of address – Ms and different types of telegram
60: Emergency ...999	Services	Text: 2m/1f A/w: - Fictional: caller, police, fireman, ambulance service; boy; 3 f-operator and 2 callers. All drawing suggest white people			5m/3f RP/MRP Total: 5m/3f	Colour realist drawing; narrative; offer; medium to far; looking down; frames broken by caller and operator drawings to suggest their impact; left/right
	Other (embarrassing experiences)	Text: 5m/3f A/w: 5m/2f Fictional: Cartoons suggest white people; Jobs referred to: 1 writer is a teacher, another tells of story to visit male bank manager.	Narrative: 3 ‘letters to the editor’. Comic	UK	m RP/MRP intro; 2m RUK (northern); f RP/MRP Total: 3m/1f	Colour graphics Note low modality intertextuality typical of the coursebook
	Other (a ghost story)	Text: 4m/3f A/w: 3m/3f Fictional	Narrative; dialogue	Cottage in New Forest	m/f RP/MRP Total: 1m/1f	b/w fictional drawing same modality as Romeo and Juliet; left/right
62: A ghost story	Shopping	Text: 2m/1f A/w: - Fictional; 4 m/2 f (5 young adults, 1 middle-aged adult); white; male shop assistants	3 situational dialogues comic element – new LP by the Rats is for shopper’s grandmother	Record, jeweller’s and toy shop	4m/2f RP/MRP Total: 4m/2f	b/w social realist photos Narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right
63: Buying a present	Other (where things are made, produced, etc. ‘general knowledge’)	Text: 4m/2f A/w: 4m/2f Fictional; 20s; white	dialogue	home	m/f RP/MRP Total: 1m/1f	Colour realist photo Narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; text below photo; other photos of produce to accompany CP; man higher than woman
	House and home	Fictional; 2 m; middle-aged; white; estate agent	Narrative; dialogue; comic – cheap house because of plans for	street	2m RP/MRP (narrator and buyer); m	Colour caricature drawing Narrative; offer; medium to far; looking down slightly;
64: Made in England						
65: A real bargain						

66: The Eight O’Clock News

Other (plane robber arrest, end of strike, pop guitarist death, robbery, escaped animal, footballer transfer)	bridge over it	(estuaryish)	accommodation	drawing below text
Text: 2m A/w: 2m Fictional; female news reader – stories refer to 4 m (train robber, sacked worker, pop singer, footballer) a painting and an elephant	Parody of television news – comic elements e.g. Robert Gibbs the plane robber, Vic Bostik the Rats guitarist, Lanstable painting..	Total: 3m f RP/MRP	Drills; comp qs; sentence transformation; ss write new story for today	b/w realist drawing of tv set showing a scene from a news story; drawing on right, beneath 2 stories
		Total: 1f		

67: The Saturday Magazine

Free time, entertainment	Parody of review page in magazine – comic element – singer is accompanied by Elton Kash	No tape	Comp qs; transfer e.g. Who is your favourite singer? What was the last film that you saw? What was the last record you bought? SS write review of film/ book/ record/ tv programme	b/w realist graphics (+ b/w cityscape photo – album cover)
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68: Elvis Presley

Other (biographical portrait)	Biography: celebratory – impact through tv schedule interruption all over world to give news; Carter comments on his uniqueness; crowds at funeral etc.	m IIC (US)	Comp qs; statement completion; statement correction	Colour realist/sensory (in some cases) photos on pink b/ground. Collage of 7 photos. Some narrative – one demand; range of angles; one close-up with Elvis stating into the middle distance – rest medium Photos run down left hand side of page and along bottom of text
Text: 5m/2f A/w: - Real; 5 m / 3 f referred to. Biography of Elvis Presley as major figure in American cultural life; first celebrity dealt with in the coursebook; begins with the impact of this death, then origins, then career, then relaunch, death, and Lisa Marie inheriting all his wealth.		Total: 1m		

69: If I had enough money ...

Other (newspaper small ads)	Text: 5 m/3f A/w: 2m/2f Fictional; comments on 5 small ads from a newspaper for 2 nd hand car; engineer for North Sea oil company; 3 mechanics for overland expedition to Aust; secretary (French and German) for busy office in Geneva; trainee computer programmer. Only the women refer to the secretarial job.	Parody of small ads	UK newspaper	All voices have echo chamber effect – to indicate lack of reality. 4f/3m RP/MRP; 3m RUK Total: 6m/4f	Drills; comp qs	Colour graphics

70: In a restaurant

Food and drink	Text: 6m/4f Aw: - Fictional; young adult m/f and middle-aged male waiter; white	Dialogue; also e.g. of handwritten menu Comic element – waiter suggests an English wine	restaurant	m/f RP/MRP; m OEC for waiter Total: 2m/1f	Substitution drills; dialogue practice in pns; ss role play a restaurant scene with props (from school canteen)	b/w social realist photo Narrative; offer; medium; looking down on table; left/right Graphic of menu underneath

71: North Sea Oil

Other (spending North Sea oil revenues)	Text: 2m/1f A/w: 2m/1f Fictional; 3m/2f (radio announcer (m) and 4 characters in radio interviews in street (2 m/2 f); (3 elderly and 1 young woman); white; no jobs mentioned	Parody of radio programme; monologues; range of views; increase public spending, reduce taxes, price control (as well as 'encourage the farmers to produce more food, more cheaply' and not spend on armaments and new roads), more police, higher salaries for them, and higher pensions. Soundbites- comic - what to wear for trip to moon, what to do on meeting Martians.	Street/radio	m RP/MRP announcer; f/m RP/MRP; m/f RUK Total: 3m/2f	Comp qs; drills; ss write what they would if PM in their country; ss debate issues	b/w realist photo Conceptual; at least two e.g.s of demand; close; eyelevel; photos and text superimposed on seascape with oilrigs.

72: What would you do?

Other (hypothetical situations)	Fictional; 2 m/1 f; young adults; white; bin man; box office salesperson; taxi driver	work	No tape	Most of unit is CP based around pictures illustrating 'problems' – 'I've lost my passport' to elicit 2 nd conditional	Colour caricature drawings The main three are conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel; these take up half the page

73: Mad killer strikes again!

Other (search for a serial killer)	Text: 2m/1f A/w: 2m/1f Fictional; main character is male detective; middle-aged; white Characters; 2 journalists; Dr Martin; Leo; newspaper ed; policeman; doctor; killer;	Action cartoon story	Los Angeles	7m IIC (US)	advice Drills; comp qs; transfer e.g. Are there a lot of police programmes on television? Who's your favourite television detective? Do you think police programmes are exciting?	Colour fictional drawings Narrative; offer; variety of distances and points of view to suggest action.. Intro is from a newspaper – what follows could be seen as a series of tv frames
				Total: 7m		

74: Four reports

Other (statements to journalist by UN secretary general and a boxer)	Text: 8m/1f A/w: +/- 16m/ 3f Fictional; young white female interviewer and Dr Sowanso & Brutus Cray – the boxer. Brutus is not pictured – Dr S is darker than all others but more Middle Eastern here	Narrative; monologues; journalistic account-comic e.g. names Brutus Cray, Leo Fink	London	m RP/MRP narrator; f RP/MRP; m OEC (Dr Sowanso); m OEC (North American parody of Mohammad Ali)	Sentence transformation; ss follow cues to write reports about fictional stars	Colour caricature drawing Narrative; offer; close up; eyelevel; left/right
				Total: 3m/1f		

75: Examination day

Education	Text: 2m/1f A/w: 6m/1f Fictional; both young; foreign; students	Dialogue	school	f/m OEC ('foreign' students)	Drills; ss practise oral exam using e.g. from text	Colour realist drawing Narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking up at them; left/right
				Total: 1m/1f		

76: But you said ...

Travel	Text: 1m/1f A/w: 1m/1f Fictional; f (customer)/m (travel agent); characters not seen	Dialogue; narrative – comic elements: holiday disaster, unfinished hotel etc	Travel agent's	m RP/MRP narrator; f RUK; m RP/MRP	Drills; intensive listening + oral reported speech -> written reported speech; transfer e.g. Have you ever been on a package holiday?	b/w realist drawing collage of three drawings – her conception of hotel (narrative/offer), the reality (both far:eyelevel), and a publicity brochure. Left/right and then right/left to underline the disparity between the two
				Total: 2m/1f		

77: Having things done

Services	Fictional; those shown are 30s; except middle-aged tailor and receptionist in optician's	4 situational dialogues – comic element – the woman in the optician mistook window for door	Street; dry-cleaner's; tailor's; optician's	4m/3f RP/MRP; m RUK	Substitution drills; transfer is to give T advice with structure e.g. 'I haven't done anything to my car for six months'	b/w social realist photos narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; left/right
				Total : 5m/3f		

78: Trouble at the supermarket

Text:5m/3f
A/w: 5m/3f

‘Real’: 2 housewives; mid-aged store detective; little girl; I mid-aged m manager.

Shopping (wrongful detention for shoplifting)

Picture story

supermarket

No tape

Comp qs; T elicits story from pictures; ss improvise scene in manager’s office; write story

Colour realist photos
Narrative; offer; variety of distances and points of view; left/right

to elicit ‘You should have the brakes tested’.

79: The Appointment

Text: -
A/w: 1m/4f

Fictional; 3 m (caliph; servant (young); ‘Death’). Arabic

Other (fable about death)

fable

Baghdad

m RP/MRP narrator

Total: 1m

Drills; reproduction from prompts; sentence transformation; retell story

Colour fictional drawing
Narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; text framed in ornate picture

80: The last letter from Paris

Text: 3m
A/w: 2m

Fictional; m/f; young; white; student

Relations with other people

Personal letter

Paris

No tape

Comp qs; Transfer e.g. **When was the last time you went to a restaurant or a party?**; skeleton sentences

b/w graphics drawing

Appendix 4
Coursebook title: Building Strategies
Level: Pre-intermediate
Number of units: 16
Length of course: 100-120 hours
Language systems: grammar of standard British English; no syntactic variation represented; notional/functional and grammar syllabus in line with Threshold Level taxonomy; representations of grammar/features of spoken English e.g. ellipsis; reformulation; hesitation; key characters have IIC and RUK accents; ‘authentic’ OEC examples included (see below); overall focus on RP/MRP (see below); lexis related to topics
Abbreviations: m = male; f = female; TB = teacher’s book; SB = student’s book; cp = controlled practice; q/a = question and answer; a/w = artwork; RP/MRP = RP/modified RP; RUK = regional UK; IIC = international inner circle; OEC = outer/expanding circle

Unit	Topic	Characters (real/fictional; sex; age; ethnicity; job)	Text type/point of view/treatment	Location	Tape	Task types	Artwork/ General comments
1: A new start	Personal identification	p. 5 Language: profiles of Rod Nelson (m); young adult; white Canadian; electrical engineer and Barbara Cooper (f); young adult; white UK; shoe shop manageress	p. 5 narrative profile; neutral	Bristol	p. 6 Rod and Zlatko Tirc (Yugoslav ss); IIC and OEC accents; intro f RP/MRP	p. 6 Paragraph writing about 3 sets of characters; Jack; Peggy, supermarket cashier (f); Norman, accountant (m); Joan, p-time secretary (f); daughter Barbara; Paul, student (m); children, Mark and Mandy	p. 4 Full page colour shot of Rod catching train – announces this is a story about Rod; two black passengers featured; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel.
	Places			p. 7 Map of UK & NI (border inc)			p. 5 2 small b/w photos of R & B; conceptual; demand; close; eyelevel
	Trade, profession, occupation			p. 8 4 colour photos of Chicago, Montevideo, Cortina d’Ampezzo, San Sebastian as basis of cp to describe places	p. 10 All RP/MRP (Jenny, David and Mary; m intro; 2m interviewers; 1f)	Gapfill; ss practise R & Z meeting -> roleplay meeting R	p. 6 Jack, Peggy, Joan, Norman, Paul: conceptual; all demand except Paul; all close except medium for Joan & Norman; all eyelevel
	House and home		p. 9 Reading: further details about cast of characters and how they relate; Peggy is B’s mother, Jack, B’s father and R’s colleague, is production manager and member of the trade union committee.		Inter-rater reliability 100%	p. 9 comp qs.	p. 9 Colour photo; Rod, Jack and female
		p. 10 Listening: Jenny	p. 10 3 characters talk		Tape: 6m/4f A/w: 1m /2f	p. 10 gap fills x 2; 3 paragraph letter to penfriend about self; studies; interests	

2: Making friends

2: Making friends				Tasks: 6m/4f A/w: 4m/3f	
Relations with other people Personal identification Free time, entertainment Trade, profession, occupation	(student), David, Mary + 2m/f interviewers	about type of accommodation and location			worker; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
	Texts: 6m/6f A/w: 6m/3f (3 are of Rod)				p. 10 b/w Z: conceptual; demand; medium; viewer looking slightly down
	p. 12 Language: R & B talk about work and living in Bristol; P & G in b/ground (preferences)	p. 12 dialogue R finds job interesting, people friendly, city beautiful and c/side lovely	As above	p. 12 m RP/MRP intro to R (IIC) & B and Peggy (both RP/MRP)	p. 12 B asks R to visit shop and he asks her to lunch (note her averted eyes in photo); warm colour; narrative; offer; medium to close; eyelevel
	p. 18 Listening: the people interviewed are all critical in some way of aspects of life in the UK (snobbery, weather, food, way of life)	p. 18 R finds people kind and friendly with a sense of humour; way of life is slower than in Canada; loves food		p. 18 f RP/MRP intro to 4 'foreigners' living in UK; f RP/MRP interviewer for Paul (m) Jamaica OEC; Cindy (f) US IIC; Usha (f) India OEC; Spiro (m) Greece OEC (hardly a trace of accent).	p. 13 Maria is young, black, not British; conceptual; smiling demand; close; eyelevel
	p. 18 Reading: this is the text commented on by Dendrinós. R talks about his move to Bristol in local n/paper (picture from p. 5 as inset). Mentions his sea captain father				p. 13 Maria is young, black, not British; conceptual; smiling demand; close; eyelevel
	Texts: 6m/5f A/w: 3 m (2 are R)/2f				p. 15 a/w for writing is same photo of Maria but b/w
					p. 16-17 all colour – centre is a large ice-cream with sweets and biscuits; clockwise – Mrs Thatcher, holding flower, bending
					p. 18 role play planning
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3: Ward fifteen

Health and welfare Services Trade, profession, work	p. 20 Language: Mrs Cross' accident. Fictional: elderly; white + middle-aged, white farmer (description of past events) p. 22 Joan's visit to Mrs C in hospital. J in 30s; white p. 25 Reading: story of Torvill & Dean Listening: interviews about routines with three Olympics athletes (2m/1f) Texts: 6 m/8f (Mrs C x2) A/w: 4m/4f	p. 20 narrative p. 22 dialogue p. 25 celebratory narrative	As above	p.22 Language tape. Joan's hospital visit; m and f intro - all RP/MRP Joan – RP/MRP Mrs C - RUK (west country) p. 26 interview with 3 Olympic athletes (2m/1f) m intro and f interviewer – both RP/MRP Bo – OEC Anne - RUK Bob - IIC Tape: 4m/5f A/w: 2m (1 black)	p. 20 comp qs. p. 21 past simple/past cont cp. p. 22 comp qs. p. 23 parts of body / ailments; pr work p. 24 pr work health q/aire; daily routine of Wilma Gibson – a champion swimmer; writing on 'a day in your life' p. 26 comp qs for reading. p. 26 role play – pretend to be Torvill/Dean and talk to parents by phone after winning p.26 discussion about sport Tasks: 1m/1f	afternoon and evening out with a friend p. 18 comp qs for reading p. 18 ss write comp about R Tasks: 2f (Maria x 2) A/w: 13 m/12f (Maria x 2)	down beside small school girl; crowded beach with tower blocks; 4 punks; traditional UK mediaeval house beside river; 80s glass table; Sagrada Familia; Charles and Diana; overall conceptual but narrative in case of Mrs T and punks; Mrs T and Diana smiling demand; all medium to far except Mrs T (close); punks (medium/close); Charles and Diana (close). eyelevel p. 20 4 colour photos for story of accident; collage; overall narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel except for accident scene when viewer looks down. p. 21 a/w is collage of colour drawings – unnatural colour but one character is black (+/- 6m/6f) and b/w photo of post bomb scene in London (very unclear); narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel p. 23 a/w of male body in profile, naked with no genitals p. 24 a/w colour photo of Wilma
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4: Two suburbs

Places	Suburbs around Bristol	A/w: 6m/7f	swimming; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel
	p. 30 Language: R goes to Portland on business and asks man for directions (facilities)	p. 30 f RP/MRP intro; R (IIC) and RP/MRP m	p. 28-29 colour drawing aerial view of UK type town; p. 30 street map of town
	p. 32 Reading: mock up of n/paper article by Mike Saunders; 80s Portland contrasted favourably with post-war Sutton; 22 yr old f typist/clerk comments negatively on Sutton.	p. 34 RP/MRP m intro; RP/MRP m interviewer; J is very mild RUK (northern)	p. 31 b/w photo of R being given direction by policeman. R with convertible sports car. Narrative; offer; medium; viewer slightly looking up
	p. 32 favourable picture of Portland – well-planned/essential services; Sutton – badly planned, few essential services and large population.	p. 33 comp qs about reading – then chart completion which includes space for ‘your town’. Ss use this to write description of their town using p. 32 text as model.	p. 32 black and pink – a/w suggests page torn from n/paper. No-one visible in Portland; Sutton has 4 children and 2 adults; all seen from behind except 1 child looking directly at camera. Delapidated. Narrative; demand; medium; viewer looking slightly down.
	p. 34 Listening (1) Judith talks about Hull	p. 34 letter from Barbara to Sue explaining how to get to her house from station. Ss use as model to write similar letter.	p. 34 b/w tourist map of central London
	P. 34 Listening (2) ‘Dial a walk’ telephone service for a walk to Buck. Palace.		
Tasks: 2f A/w: 3m			

5: A place of my own

House and home	Bristol		p. 34 b/w handwritten informal letter
	p. 36 Language: R decides to move out of hostel and rent a flat in Joan and Norman’s house; too exp so places an ad for flat	p. 36-37 comp qs	p. 36 colour photo of Rod ringing doorbell; conceptual; offer; medium; elevated shot looking up at flat for rent on top
		p. 37 m RP/MRP intro; R (IIC) & P has RUK (slight northern) accent – (Note approximation of natural conversation	

6: Consolidation

Shopping	share – Paul phones to view	p. 37 dialogue	– use of fillers and ellipsis e.g. ‘What do you do?’ ‘Work ... Came over a few weeks ago.’ And ‘Yes, er ... like, now, this morning?’ comp qs and t/f	p. 39 gap fill with Barbara and Ruth (young and black) – surreal conversation to practise asking for permission -> ss roleplay asking for permission in 4 situations	floor
Free time, entertainment	p. 37 R and P agree on a time for viewing	p. 37 dialogue			p. 36-37 colour photo Paul looking in n/agents window; sm boy smiles directly at viewer; conceptual street scene; demand; medium; eyelevel
Travel	p. 42 Reading: mock up of n/paper article on difficult requests.	p. opinion column	p. 42 m intro; m interviewer for Kevin; f interviewer for Sally – all RP/MRP	p. 40-41 ss write description of house; ss draw their own; pr wk q/a about own bedroom/sitting room; write paragraph about a room in house on p. 40 and give personal opinion	p. 39 b/w photo of Ruth going up steps to Barbara’s flat; conceptual; medium/close; viewer looking up
Trade, profession, occupation	p. 44 Language: Joan and Pat (young and white) shop for curtain material.	p. 44 dialogues		p. 42 ss write about their ideal recreation room	p. 40-41 colour drawing of two-storey house with side removed; middle-class 80s interior with wide range of fittings/appliances
	p. 45 Reading: survey of what British like to do when the sun shines	p. 45 n/paper or magazine extract		Note refs to Michael Jackson and John le Carre.	p. 42 cartoon of woman with 3 small rowdy children entering train compartment. Hatted women reading book – the writer of the piece.
	p. 46 Listening (1): man talks about why he	p. 46 monologue	p. 44 m RP/MRP intro; Joan and Pat RP/MRP; shop assistant RUK (west countryish)	Tasks: 4m/3f A/w: 1f	p. 44 Joan and Pat shopping; colour photo; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
			p. 46 f RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP	p. 44 shopping role play	
			p. 46 f RUK (west country); m RP/MRP	p. 45 t/f statements on reading; conduct similar survey in class; discussion about how UK activities are	p. 45 little girl eating ice cream; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel

7: Guests for supper

[illegible]

8: Excuses	Relations with other people	<p>p. 56 R invites colleagues Lynne who has 'family problems' to his flat. Barbara rings and R says he's having a shower.</p> <p>p. 59 B phones a second time. His series of excuses for not wanting to meet are understood as lack of interest – intonation carries her disappointment.</p> <p>p. 62 Reading: written party invitation and formal/informal replies</p>	<p>p. 56 dialogue</p> <p>p. 59 dialogues</p> <p>p. 62 invitation card and written replies</p>	<p>As above</p>	<p>p. 56 m RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP; m IIC</p> <p>p. 59 m RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP; m IIC</p>	<p>p. 56 comp qs</p> <p>p. 57 matching activities to pictures; the pr work</p> <p>p. 58 label activities in pictures; telephone pr wk</p> <p>p. 59 comp qs</p> <p>p. 60-61 invitations; acceptances; refusals; excuses – reading; speaking pr work; invitation role play</p> <p>p. 62 letter writing –</p>	<p>looking down on women with magazines.</p> <p>p. 50 b/w line drawings of stages of recipe for potato salad and photograph of page with photo of finished dish.</p> <p>p. 52 mock up of magazine extract; sensory orientation; black on orange with yellow inset; colour photo inset of bronzed smiling blonde woman with eyes closed; conceptual; offer; close; viewer looking slightly down</p> <p>p. 54 b/w photo of note on kitchen table</p> <p>p. 56 full page of R on phone; grey on pink; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 57 12 low modality colour drawings for matching, featuring: man putting children to bed; black man reading to children; in an apron cooking; hoovering</p> <p>p. 58 7 b/w photos c/b characters doing</p>

9: Future plans

<p>Trade, profession, occupation</p> <p>Travel</p> <p>Weather</p>	<p>p. 62 Listening: 4 people ring to explain why they can't attend the party</p> <p>Texts: 9m/11f A/w: 1m/1f</p>	<p>p. 62 telephone dialogues</p>	<p>p. 62 f RP/MRP intro; 3 m RP/MRP; 3 f RP/MRP</p> <p>Tapes: 7m/6f</p>	<p>p. 62 f RP/MRP intro; 3 m RP/MRP; 3 f RP/MRP</p> <p>Tasks: 9m/11f a/w: 14m/15f</p>	<p>invitation -> exchange -> acceptance/refusal</p>	<p>activities; collage – (3 narrative/5 conceptual); offers (except Lynn washing car); close-medium; eyelevel except looking down on Lynn</p>
	<p>p. 64 Language: mock up of extract from n/paper or magazine; profile of Barbara – business; personality of the month.</p>	<p>p. 64 media profile; celebratory of her achievement and busy lifestyle</p>	<p>p. 66 f RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP; m RUK (Estuaryish)</p>	<p>p. 64 comp qs</p>	<p>p. 60 Micky Mouse b/day card</p> <p>p. 64 colour photo of Barbara on sofa in flat; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; eyelevel</p>	<p>p. 59 b/w Barbara sitting on desk; narrative (she's on right, R on left p. 56); offer; close; eyelevel</p>
	<p>p. 66 Barbara gives Gerry instructions about running shop in her absence. G is 30ish and white.</p>	<p>p. 66 dialogue</p>	<p>p. 70 m RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP interviewer; 2 f RP/MRP</p>	<p>p. 65 pr wk holiday plans using cues -> role play conversation about holiday plans for 3 wks in Rome</p> <p>p. 67 reminders for friends while on holiday</p>	<p>p. 66 b/w Barbara and Gerry in shop; narrative; offer; medium-close; eyelevel (note Barbara is higher)</p>	<p>p. 68-69 collage of different weathers. First shows women with umbrellas walking towards camera – street scene; conceptual; offer - too indistinct to be demand; medium; eyelevel. Bus stop scene in fog – at least 2 female and 1 male shape. Park scene – 3</p>
	<p>p. 70 Reading: letter to n/paper from a Ms Downing asking where government is going to get the money to pay for recently announced investment plans</p> <p>p. 70 Listening (1): Jane and Elizabeth answer qs about holiday plans</p> <p>p. 70 Listening (2):</p>	<p>p. 70 'letter to the editor'</p> <p>p. 70 interview</p> <p>p. 70 monologue (poor weather)</p>	<p>p. 68 lexis of weather matching -> pr wk using newspaper extract</p> <p>p. 70 comp qs for reading and chart completion for Listening (1)</p>	<p>p. 68 lexis of weather matching -> pr wk using newspaper extract</p> <p>p. 70 comp qs for reading and chart completion for Listening (1)</p> <p>p. 70 plan day at seaside for Ingrams on basis of weather forecast</p>	<p>p. 68-69 collage of different weathers. First shows women with umbrellas walking towards camera – street scene; conceptual; offer - too indistinct to be demand; medium; eyelevel. Bus stop scene in fog – at least 2 female and 1 male shape. Park scene – 3</p>	<p>p. 68-69 collage of different weathers. First shows women with umbrellas walking towards camera – street scene; conceptual; offer - too indistinct to be demand; medium; eyelevel. Bus stop scene in fog – at least 2 female and 1 male shape. Park scene – 3</p>

<div>weather forecast for Bristol area as part of a radio programme</div> <div>Texts: 6m/7f a/w: 1m/2f</div>	<div>Personal identification</div> <div>Trade, profession, occupation</div> <div>Travel</div> <div>Relations with other people</div>	<div>p. 73 Language: Barbara bumps into school friend Martha on trip to Milan.</div> <div>p. 74 mock up n/paper story about past pupils inc. Barbara from a local comprehensive school (Martha is a doctor, John an engineer, Terry [black] is a carpenter, James a librarian, Clive and English language teacher)</div> <div>p. 78 Listening: 3 scientists in 3 different situations (lecture, radio, party) talk about their research – Dr Pierre Chabrol, an agricultural botanist; Dr Brian Powers, physicist; Dr Carmen Hernandez, virus specialist.</div> <div>p. 78: Reading: letter from Peggy to her sister in NZ. Jack is thinking of applying for a post with the company in France as there may be a strike in Bristol and ‘he’s getting tired of it all’. Mobility stressed.</div>	<div>p. 73 dialogue</div> <div>p. 74 mock up of n/paper article</div> <div>p. 78 lecture: radio interview; socializing at a party</div> <div>p. 78 personal letter</div>	Milan/Bristol	<div>p. 73 m RP/MRP intro; 2 f RP/MRP</div> <div>p. 78 2 f RP/MRP intros; m OEC; 3 m RP/MRP; f RP/MRP; f OEC</div> <div>Tapes: 5m/6f</div>	<div>p. write 3/4 paragraphs ‘for your next long holiday’</div> <div>Tasks: 1m/3f</div>	<div>middle-aged men; 3 indistinct women; 1 young woman and 1 young man; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel</div> <div>p. 72-73 colour photo of crowded covered piazza in Milan; inset of map of Italy; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel</div> <div>p. 74-75 b/w photo of school children and 6 of them today as adults. The are all conceptual; demands (except two); close; eyelevel (looking down on Dr who is at her desk looking up)</div> <div>p. 77 colour photo of man and woman in shadow embracing in train station; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel. This illustrates farewell.</div> <div>p. 77 colour photo of young boy embracing woman – man in b/ground; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel with boy</div> <div>p. 77 colour photo of suited man shaking hands with smiling woman in suit. She’s behind her desk. Narrative; offer;</div>
<div>10: Getting up to date</div>							

<h1>11:</h1> <h2>Consolidation</h2>	<p>Food and drink</p> <p>Trade, profession, occupation</p>	<p>Barbara's relationship with Rod is referred to as being not very serious and that B is not 'keen to settle down'.</p> <p>Texts: 12m/11f a/w: 4m/3f +2 crowd scenes</p>	<p>for listening; comp qs and dictionary work for reading</p> <p>p. 78 writing – letter to old friend of family using reading letter as model</p> <p>Tasks: 14m/12f</p> <p>p. 80 gap-fill revision of previous units; pr wk rev with ingredients for a recipe and dinner menu</p> <p>p. 81 should/shouldn't revision related to personal expenditure</p> <p>p. 81 written drill of pieces of advice to parents of small children</p> <p>p. 82 role play Rod and Lynne to practise invitation/persuasion and making excuses</p> <p>p. 82 gap-fill conversation to practise plans between Rod and Paul (Note the assurance with which they talk about their plans)</p> <p>p. 83 invitation from Headmaster to Paul to attend school reunion; ss write refusal letter with update</p>	<p>medium-close; slightly looking down on action</p> <p>p. 78 listening accompanied by b/w photo of woman using a laboratory microscope</p> <p>p. 82 b/w photo of Rod and Paul; narrative; offer; medium; looking down on Rod who is the floor with records</p> <p>p. 83 b/w head and shoulders of managing director of Western Aeronautics; conceptual; too blurred to be demand; close; eyelevel</p>

12: Home again

Travel	p. 84 Language: Rod picks Barbara up at the airport (apologies). Note cosmopolitanism of B's 'I thought it was beautiful. More beautiful than Paris, in fact'.	p. 84 dialogue	As above	p. 84 m RP/MRP intro; m IIC; f RP/MRP	p. 84 colour pictures of Rod picking Barbara up in red convertible at airport; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
Places	p. 89 Reading: extract from a romantic serial in a women's magazine. The heroine, Clarissa's situation mirrors Barbara's – returning from Italy with doubts about a man who didn't telephone. Note businesswoman representation – use of calculator	p. 89 narrative		Tapes: 3m/3f	p. 86 b/w drawings of tall buildings eg. Empire State against Everest; conceptual
	p. 90 Listening: John and Etsuko (student) compare life in Japan and the UK. Both like each other's country – John thinks the countryside is more beautiful in Japan. cf. Headway	p. 90 conversation		p. 85 comp qs	p. 88 night scene of pagodas and palm tress (black) against an orange sky; conceptual for present perfect
				p. 85 role play apologising to a friend for not coming to class, not writing/phonng, and to employer for arriving late to work	P. 89 pastel drawing of Clarissa (fictionality suggested) staring into the middle distance; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel
				p. 86 comparisons – skeleton sentences -> personalize using own country ‘with any other country you know well’	
				p. 87 ss use sentences from previous ex to agree/disagree in pr wk	
				p. 87 general knowledge quiz (Note deprecating attitude towards UK in model sentence – ‘It’s warmer in Germany than in the Lake District. And it’s more beautiful too’.	
				p. 88 present perfect for experiences – note list of up market sports e.g. water skiing, sailing,	

<p> 13: Mandy is missing </p>		<p> Texts: 5m/6f a/w:1m/2f </p>		<p> wind surfing </p> <p> p. 90 Focus on linkers. Sentences from Clarissa text -> writing from cues which completes the story with Simon waiting for her. </p> <p> p. 90 role play in which ss talk give opinions about 2 films they've seen </p> <p> p. 90 guided writing – a recent journey </p>	
<p> Personal identification Services </p>	<p> As above </p>	<p> Texts: 2m/2f </p>	<p> p. 92 f RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 decontextualized colour photo of Mandy; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 92-93 colour photo of policeman taking call; narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking down </p> <p> p. 93 colour photo of Joan and female neighbour; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 94 b/w photo of crying Joan being interviewed at home by policeman; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel </p>
<p> Personal identification Services </p>	<p> As above </p>	<p> Texts: 2m/2f </p>	<p> p. 92 f RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 decontextualized colour photo of Mandy; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 92-93 colour photo of policeman taking call; narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking down </p> <p> p. 93 colour photo of Joan and female neighbour; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 94 b/w photo of crying Joan being interviewed at home by policeman; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel </p>
<p> Personal identification Services </p>	<p> As above </p>	<p> Texts: 2m/2f </p>	<p> p. 92 f RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 RP/MRP intro; m RUK (west countryish); f RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK; f (strange) RP/MRP </p> <p> p. 95 f RP/MRP intro; 2 m RUK </p> <p> p. 97 m RP/MRP intro; 3 f RP/MRP; 2 m RP/MRP </p>	<p> p. 92 decontextualized colour photo of Mandy; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 92-93 colour photo of policeman taking call; narrative; offer; medium; slightly looking down </p> <p> p. 93 colour photo of Joan and female neighbour; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel </p> <p> p. 94 b/w photo of crying Joan being interviewed at home by policeman; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel </p>

15: And tomorrow ...?	Travel Foreign language Places	p. 108 Language: 3 texts – information explaining that Jack has got the Toulouse job; letter from Freda Curtis with travel details; gap fill conversation	p. 108 narrative; business letter; dialogue – dialogue is comic	As above	p. 108 f RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP; m mild RUK (west countryish)	Tasks: 16m/11f A/w: 1f	p. 109 pr wk with travel lexis; ss wk in groups and discuss travel arrangements for group members who are travelling	p. 108-109 text partly superimposed on photo of business letter; egs. of tickets, luggage tags etc. from a number of national airline	eyelevel	p. 103 notes on f writer and m boxer -> role play in which they are interviewed by journalist	p. 104-105 colour montage of Elvis framed with a/w juke box and car, guitars, records and juke box; two sensory images – the young Elvis and Las Vegas Elvis behind; conceptual; offer; close; viewer looking up at Elvis whose eyes are also raised	p. 106 b/w n/paper photo of Winnie Mandela; conceptual; smiling offer; close; eyelevel																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									

<p>between Jack and Peggy (anxious about everything).</p> <p>p. 108 conversation between Peggy and Jack – same content as in gap fill but slightly different wording (intonation adds to P's anxiety).</p> <p>P. 110 dinner at the Coopers – Rod, Barbara, Jack and Peggy. Element of drama – R and B have had a row. Celebration of P and J's new life in France. Swipe at grammar-based language learning.</p> <p>p. 113 Reading: set of predictions about how things (home, work, leisure, food and travel) will be in 2001.</p> <p>p. 114 Listening: news report about the global itinerary of US diplomat</p> <p>Texts: 5m/5f A/w: 2m/2f</p>	<p>p. 108 dialogue – comic</p> <p>p. 110 dialogue</p> <p>p. 113 set of predictions of the kind s/times found in w/end n/paper supplements</p> <p>p. 114 radio programme</p>	<p>companies</p> <p>p. 110 b/w formal dinner table scene at J and P's; narrative; offer; close/medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 111 b/w photo of Rod, Peggy, Barbara and Jack + dog; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 112-113 futuristic colour drawing with inset of space craft – implication that humans will live in space</p> <p>p. 114 map of the world with cities in US diplomat's journey identified</p>	<p>p. 111 predictions; ss make predictions about R and B -> about other characters in bk/members of the class</p> <p>p. 112 t/f statements about life in the 21st century -> discussion</p> <p>p. 113 ss write about life in the future and then read a text and decide which things have already come true</p> <p>p. 114 ss work in groups and plan arrangements for a group of Australian ss who are coming to their town for two wks to learn the language and get to know people</p> <p>p. 114 Writing – ss write a letter with arrangements for group of tourists to ss town</p> <p>Tasks: 2m/3f A/w: 2m/2f</p>
<p>Trade, profession, occupation</p> <p>Shopping</p> <p>Travel</p> <p>Personal information</p>	<p>As above</p>	<p>p. 117 m RP/MRP into; f RP/MRP; m RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 121 f RP/MRP; m RP/MRP</p>	<p>p. 116-117 colour drawing of boy having tea with the landlady; narrative; offer, medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 118-119 b/w</p>

story read aloud

p. 118 Reading: mock up of n/paper story about redundancy – how to go about getting a new job in current climate

p. 121 Listening: commentary from a fashion show; description of 6 models

p. 121 quiz based on the characters in BS.

Texts: 20m/17f
A/w: 7m./4f

p. 121 m RP/MRP intro; 6 m OEC; 9 f OEC

Tapes: 10m/11f

p. 119 t/f statements about reading

p 119 role play: 3 situations – persuade partner who has been made redundant not to move abroad; discuss partner’s qualifications; help write CV.

p. 119 write own CV and covering letter for job

p. 119 discussion about redundancy

p. 119 grammar-based gap fill; ex to put verbs in correct form in text about Jack and Peggy

p. 120 preposition gap fill

p. 120 role play – Mike Saunders interviews Rod;

p. 120 gap fill with Barbara – moves story on – she’s on her way to Canada, engaged to Rod

p. 120 Group discussion about travel experiences

p. 122 **Flight to Paradise Island** - ludo-type board game; ss land on square and i)

grainy photo of 3 young men outside Job centre looking at notices; mock up of n/paper extract; conceptual; medium; eyelevel

p. 121 colour drawing of 6 models (in heterosexual pairs); one Asian f (Toni); one black man

carry out a language
function and ii) follow
the flight instructions

Tasks: 8m/3f

Appendix 5

Coursebook title: The New Cambridge English Course 2

Level: Elementary/lower intermediate students

Number of units: 36

Length of course: 36 90-minute lessons

Language systems: ‘multi-syllabus’ with 8 strands: vocabulary; grammar; pronunciation; notions; functions; situations; topics; skills; functional language in line with Threshold level taxonomy; focus on standard British English; no syntactic variation represented; explicit focus on grammar/features of spoken English e.g. ellipsis, reformulation, hesitation; phonology syllabus focus on segmental and suprasegmental features; focus on RP/MRP, in addition to repeated representation of IIC (North American) and RUK; very little OEC; topic related lexical sets and chunks of social language.

Abbreviations: m = male; f = female; TB = teacher’s book; SB = student’s book; cp = controlled practice; q/a = question and answer; a/w = artwork; RP/MRP = RP/modified RP; RUK = regional UK; IIC = international inner circle; OEC = outer/expanding circle

Unit	Topic	Characters (real/fictional; sex; age; ethnicity; job)	Text type/point of view/treatment	Location	Tape	Task types	Artwork/General comments
1: May I introduce myself?	Personal identification	p. 8-9 introductions with international group of men and women at a drinks party	dialogues	Not specified	m RP/MRP intro 9m/8f	p. 9 ss listen and practise sentences; introduce each other	Two-page spread offering panoramic view of room; realist colour drawing
		10m/9f all young to middle-aged adults/I clearly older m		Accents only clear in longer utterances: 5 IIC (American); 9 RP/MRP; 3 possible OEC		Ss write ‘personal’ qs to ask each other	Narrative; offer; medium-close; eyelevel
		1 black f; 1 east Asian m; 1 Indian f in sari				Ss interview T	
		1 f identified as ‘professor’ and 1 m as ‘doctor’				Ss interview each other	
		A/w: 10m/9f			Tape: 10m/8f	p.124/126 Ss do pr wk introductions dialogue	
						Tasks: 1m/1f (note ‘my sister’ is referred to as ‘a fine doctor’)	

2: Who’s who

Relations with other people	p. 10-11 All young white adults except one middle-aged man (Polly and Rod are 21) Language/listening: task lists Anna, Jake, Peter, Polly, Rob, Sally whose names correspond to drawings – but only 4 are mentioned on tape A/w: 3m/3f	Dialogues and a monologue Dialogues involve Sally telling Jake he’s too old for her (also he’s boring, no sense of humour, no hair, or money and he can’t dance. Reads and listens to music); S and P discuss Rob; Polly appears to think aloud about her appearance; Jake tells Rob how good-looking he is as well as what he can do. Overall comic treatment.	Not specified	p. 10 m RP/MRP intro 2m/2f RP/MRP p. 11 repetition pron exercise: 3m/3f RP/MRP Tape: 5m/5f	p. 10 ss identify the speakers from the drawings and then expressions from the tape p. 11 ss complete a gap fill dialogue which echoes the woman splitting up with the man – here a man splits up with a woman. They decide to give the relationship another go. Pron exercise. Ss listen to expressions linked to listening and repeat (e.g. You’re too old)	p. 10 6 colour drawing of characters in listening; conceptual; 5 demand, 1 offer; close; eyelevel The drawings make the ‘demand’ weak
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3: My mornings usually start fairly late

Other (routines and habits)	p. 12 Language/listening: Adele and Rufus (both middle-aged) talk about their routines. This listening is identified as authentic – see old CE2 for definition Text: 1m/2f A/w: 1m/1f	p. 12 two monologues Adele explains that she’s heavily involved with the local youth club – she recently took 8 of them on ‘an assault course at Bicester Garrison ’. Cf. OUP interviews. ‘We don’t have a lot of cooked meals’ – no gloss for any of this. Rufus explains how he works from his office at home; job unspecified. Both appear to have a life of ease in which they do as they please –	UK	p. 12 m RP/MRP intro; m/f RP/MRP p. 13 pron ex exercise: This is identified as authentic ; 2m/1f RUK; 2f/m RP/MRP; f IIC (American) Inter-rater reliability out on one which JK felt was RUK because of intonation/JG had put RP/MRP Tape: 5m/5f	p. 12 focus on adverbs of frequency; ss rewrite sentences about A and R p. 13 pron exercise in which ss count the words they hear p. 13 ss ask each other qs about personal habits. p. 13 Writing: a portrait of the average ss in the class Tasks: 1f	p. 12 low modality colour drawing of A and R at home – R at his desk, computer, books on shelves; A in kitchen cooking
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4: How people live

A: ‘[I] mostly do exactly what I feel like doing’.

Other (how tribes people live)

p. 14 Reading: two mixed encyclopedia-type texts about tribal peoples

A/w: 3m/2f with babies

Australia; Amazon; Alaska

p. 14 pron exercise to focus on /i:/ /I/ minimal pair; m RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP for word list

Tape: 2m

p. 14 ss separate texts; pron practice of words from texts; cp q forms; ss write about Eskimos ‘traditional’ way of life and then speculate on how they live today – in the writing ss are encouraged to use the present tense, although the notes in the TB suggests the discussion on how ‘Eskimos live today’ points out that ‘most Eskimos have never seen an igloo’ and live in houses and travel by car. Thus traditional ways of life are associated with the past or, in the case of the tribes people in the reading, living the past in the present.

p. 14 two colour photographs – 3 Aborigines in traditional gear, 1 dancing, 2 playing instruments; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel

4 Amazonian Indians – 2 women + babies on their backs; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; viewer looking down

p. 14 colour drawing of key lexical items in texts

p. 14-15 colour drawing of group of Eskimos; conceptual/ narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel

5: There’s a strange light in the sky

Other (abduction of a footballer by aliens)

p. 16 Language/listening: commentary on football march in which a spaceship lands during an English/Spain match. Cf. Connections re the score in favour of Spain.

Characters are BBC commentator, 4 English and 1 Spanish players +

UK/another planet

Monologue; comic treatment

p. 16 m RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP commentator

p. 16 pron ex: m/f RP/MRP

Tape: 3m/1f

Tasks: 2f a/w: 1m/1f (2 other figures are unidentifiable)

p. 16 ss listen and identify differences between tape and a/w -> gap fill; spelling of – ing forms; q form; pron ex: /I/ recognition to production

p. 16-17 two sets of colour drawings – landing of craft during football match and extermination of BBC man; abduction of Evans and training of aliens to play football

p. 17 ss write commentary to accompany pictures of alien abduction where footballer is made to

Narrative; offer; medium-far; variety of angles to suggest action e.g. of craft landing and taking off

		3 aliens (referred to as male)		teach aliens to play football	
		Text: 9m A/w: 12 m (6 cartoon drawings – at least 8 clearly visible footballers, 1 commentator, 3 aliens overall) p. 18 Language/listening: changes of various types (e.g. temperature) in Fantasia A/w: 40 m/10 f (approx)			
6: Things are changing	Shopping	monologue		Fantasia – capital San Fantastico	
	Places	p. 18 m RPMRP intro; f/m RP/MRP p. 19 pron ex: f/m RP/MRP Tape: 3m/2f		p. 18 ss make sentences about the price of foodstuffs in Fantasia using graph p. 18 gap fill listening about changes over time in Fantasia. p. 19 different pronunciations of letter ‘f’ p. 19 rules for comparatives and superlatives of adjectives p. 19 cp written drill about Fantasia using comparatives and superlatives	
		p. 18 colour drawing of foodstuffs to accompany graph p. 18-19 low modality drawing of Fantasian citizens showing changes (e.g. height) – note women come first			
7: A true story	Travel	p. 26 Reading about a 17 year old German girl’s successful struggle to get out of the jungle alive after a plane crash – it is pointed out twice that this is a true story. Note strong representation of		p. 27 pron ex on –ed endings; m RP/MRP intro; 5m/5f RP/MRP Tape: 6m/5f	
	Other (escape from jungle)	p. 26 narrative		p. 19 ss write about their own country p. 27 dictionary work with key lexis from text -> gap fill -> discrimination ex for verb forms; ss write qs about text -> used for pr wk p. 27 pron discrimination ex.	
		Lima jungle		p. 26-27 text and exercise are imposed on green two page spread of drawing of jungle. 4 insets of Juliana at different stages of her ordeal. Each is conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel Vocabulary is also clarified by being illustrated in a	

8: I was getting ready to come home ...	female character.						band of small drawing at bottom of text
	Trade, profession, occupation						
9: People are different	Other (similarities and differences between people)						
	Other (similarities and differences between things)						
10: Things are different							

<p>11: Stuff for cleaning windows</p>	<p>Shopping</p>	<p>A/w: very low modality drawings so difficult to be sure – most significant is a man pushing a pram - 3m/5f (at least)</p>	<p>UK</p>	<p>p. 34 dialogues</p>	<p>p. 34 Language/listening: text consists of 7 gap fill service encounters</p> <p>Text: 3m/1f A/w: 3m/3f (remainder unclear)</p>	<p>p. 33 ss f/back to class p. 34 ss decide where various items are bought; listening gap fill</p> <p>p. 34 stress and rhythm ex; focus on weak forms</p> <p>p. 34 ss practise service encounters in prs</p> <p>p. 35 focus on paraphrase strategies e.g. stuff for –ing</p>	<p>p. 33 pron ex to count words</p> <p>p. 33 ss use information provided to write true/false statement about vehicles</p> <p>p. 33 pr wk in which ss ask each other which things from lists provided they would most like to have e.g. flat, cottage, big house</p>	<p>p. 34 colour photo long shot of a shopping mall</p> <p>p. 34 -35 colour drawing of objects for service encounter cp</p>
<p>12: I haven't got anything to wear</p>	<p>Free time, entertainment</p>	<p>p. 36 Language/listening: conversation between Jan and Kate about what to wear. K has nothing and J lends her a number of items</p> <p>p. 37 writing notes and replies for further</p>	<p>UK</p>	<p>p. 36 dialogue</p>	<p>p. 36 m RP/MRP; 2 f RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 36 pron ex: 3m/2f RP/MRP</p> <p>Tape: 4m/4f</p>	<p>p. 35 role play service encounters</p> <p>p. 36 gap fill listening -> spot the difference listening</p> <p>p. 36 minimal prs pron and different spellings of /el/</p> <p>p. 37 request/offer matching with</p>	<p>p. 36 colour drawing of two women in listening – outfit referred to floats near ground level beside them</p> <p>narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel</p>	<p>Tape: 10m/8f</p>

13: Have you ever ...?

practice

Texts: 3m/6f

A/w: 2f

Travel

Language/listening: 6 authentic mini texts in which speakers discuss experiences they've had. One character is a female taxi driver. A/w shows another teaching Italian to a group of adults

UK

p. 44 monologues

p. 44 m RP/MRP intro;
f IIC (American); m
RUK: 4 f RP

Tape: 2m/5f

Tasks: 1m

p. 44 ss match
questions to answers on
tape

p.45 pr wk to practice
'Have you ever ...?' ->
ss tell the class about
things they've done not
many other people have

- p. 45 past
- simple/present perfect
- discrimination ex ->
- b/storming time
- adverbials -> ss write a
- list of past
- simple/present perfect
- qs and then put qs to
- another group -> ss
- write about another ss
- without mentioning
- name -> T reads out
- and class guesses

appropriate responses/
degrees of politeness
-> pr wk to practise

p.44 map of England and western Europe to illustrate tape – characters etc. included. What is of interest here is that a man (rather than a woman) is seen with children at a carnival

14: Things have changed

Places

p. 46
Language/reading:
more facts about
Fantasia.

Of note is that the president of Fantasia is a woman. Mrs R is also a physicist and former Olympic athlete

p. 46 description and
chart of statistics

Fantasia

p. 47 ways of
pronouncing letter 'e':
m RP/MRP intro; f
RP/MRP

Tape: 1m/1f

how they have changed
and their
village/town/country ->
focus on picture of
NYC in 1901 -> ss
think of changes since
then

p. 47 sepia-pink street scene of NYC; conceptual; offer; medium-far; viewer looking slightly down

p. 46 focus on uses of

15: What do you say when you ...?

15: What do you say when you ...?	UK	US
Services	p. 48-49 Language/listening: 9 mini exchanges in which language is situation specific (predominantly service encounters)	p. 48 ss speculate about what is happening in a/w -> matching of functional exponent to situation
Food and drink		
Shopping		
Travel		
Other (talking on the telephone; giving directions; borrowing)		

16: Here is the news

16: Here is the news	Places	p. 50 Language/Listening: radio news from Fantasia (female newsreader and accompanying male)	p. 50 monologue	Fantasia	p. 50 m RP/MRP; 1 m RP/MRP	Tasks: 1f p. 50 ss listen and spoke the differences between written and spoken versions of news -> grammar gap fill sentences from news	p. 50 colour photograph of tv news studio – 1f and 1 m broadcasters and 1 cameraman; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel p. 51 12 low modality colour drawings – what is
					p. 51 ex on pron of 'th': 1 RP/MRP m	Tape: 3m	

17: USA holiday	Travel	<p>p. 52 Language/reading: travel brochure about things to do in US.</p> <p>p. 53 Listening: 4 speakers give opinions on US – all positive except one speaker who found NYC dirty, noisy, unpleasant and unfriendly; authentic</p> <p>Texts: 3m/1f A/w: 5m/3f</p>	<p>p. 50 celebratory tourist advertisement for US</p> <p>p. 4 monologues – largely positive in terms of lexis</p>	UK	<p>p. 50 ss ask each other how long they've been learning English -> ss prepare and ask each other qs with 'non-progressive' verbs</p> <p>p. 51 ss focus on a/w and say what has happened and extend this to their life, country, c/room</p> <p>p. 51 pron ex-.</p> <p>p. 51 ss write news story</p> <p>Tasks: 1f A/w: 11m/6f</p> <p>p. 52 dictionary work with text</p> <p>p. 53 ss choose a holiday in US and use table to make sentences -> grammar gap fill on same theme</p> <p>p. 53 comp qs on tape -> pron linking ex</p> <p>p. 53 in groups ss make a poster advertising holidays in their country or countries they know</p> <p>p. 54 ss read and complete all texts with provided missing words</p> <p>p. 55 ss use sentences provided to write a letter of acceptance,</p>	<p>significant is a black woman and a black postman</p>
18: Knife-thrower's assistant wanted	Trade, profession, occupation	<p>p. 54 Language/reading: job advertisement for sales manager and two letters of application – all texts are gap fills</p> <p>p. 55 Reading: 4 job</p>	<p>p. 54-55 job advertisements and letters of application; one comic job advertisement</p>	UK	<p>p. 52 brochure on b/ground of US flag; overall conceptual and low modality; offer (but demand in case of Hawaiian women); medium; eyelevel – looking down on canoeing and rafting</p>	<p>p. 55 b/w low modality cartoon of 4 men asking qs to interviewee who's asking about salary, hours and canteen (comic?)</p>

<p>19: Their children will have blue eyes</p>	<p>applications in newspaper (taxi driver, airline cabin staff, language teacher and knife-thrower's assistant)</p>				<p>rejection, or offer of interview</p> <p>p. 55 dictionary work with 2nd set of advertisements</p>
	<p>Texts: 1m/1f A/w: 5m</p>				<p>p. 55 preparation for interview role play; this includes letters of application and preparation of interview and follow up letters</p>
	<p>Other (physical appearance)</p>	<p>p. 62 Reading: text about how genes determine eye colour</p> <p>p. 62-63 short texts about specific couples expecting a baby (black m bus driver; white f 'works in a computer firm'; black m/f university lecturers)</p>	<p>Not specified – UK/US</p>	<p>p. 62 descriptive</p> <p>p. 62-63 profile of 4 individuals</p>	<p>p. 62 multiple choice comprehension -> speculation about eye colour of babies on basis of information about two couples</p> <p>p. 63 ss listen and repeat</p> <p>p. 63 ss speculate about their own or other's children – NR 'If you're not going to have children, talk about somebody else's children' -> speculation about future -> fortune telling pr wk -> reported speculations</p> <p>p. 62-63 colour drawings of two couple – one black man and white woman; one black couple; conceptual; demand (weakened by drawing); medium; eyelevel</p> <p>Note stance of male in each case with protective hand on woman's shoulder and height differential in favour of men</p>
<p>20: A matter of life and death</p>	<p>Travel</p> <p>Other (travel accidents and survival</p>	<p>p. 64 Language/listening: Man and woman (explorers) in plane about to crash (young, white)</p> <p>p. 65 Listening: two different explorers</p>		<p>p. 64 m RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP; m IIC (American)</p> <p>p. 64 pron ex: m RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 65 f /m RP/MRP</p>	<p>p. 64-65 colour drawing of crash and two explorers + labelled lexical items; conceptual; demand (weakened by drawing); medium; eyelevel – what is significant here is the representation of the man and the woman on the</p>
			<p>Not specified</p>	<p>p. 64 dialogue; comic treatment</p> <p>p. 65 monologues</p>	<p>Tasks: 2m/2f</p> <p>p. 64 ss listen to tape and identify from list which utterances are spoken -> count the words ex</p> <p>p. 64-65 pr wk – ss imagine they have crashed and have to</p>

21: If you see a black cat, ...

discuss what to take
with them in event of
crash

Texts: 2m/2f
A/w: 1m/1f

Other (superstitions;
tall tale about a man
who meets a woman,
gets drunk ...)

p. 67 Listening:
interactive story about a
man who meets a
woman, gets drunk and
ends up shooting his
boss and attempting to
flee the country; all
characters young and
white; additional
characters are waiter;
airline check-in clerk;
another woman

Text: 4m/2f
A/w: 1m/2f

22: We don't get on well

Relations with other people

p. 68 descriptive
account

UK

p. 69 m RP/MRP intro;
m RP/MRP; m RUK
(northern)

p. 69 pron ex to focus
on rising intonation in
yes/no qs and falling
intonation in
statements; 2 m RUK;
4 m/ 8 f RP/MRP

p. 69 Listening: 2 men
discuss their female
boss

Texts: 6m/4f
A/w: 5m /2f (approx)

Tapes: 4m/2f

decide which items to
take from those
listed/illustrated ->
report to class

p. 65 listen to another 2
explorers doing same
task -> ss compare
using reported speech

p. 66 pron ex to
practise 'dark l': m
RP/MRP intro; f
RP/MRP

p. 67 interactive
listening: 2 f RP/MRP;
4 m RP/MRP

Tape: 5m/3f

p. 67 interactive story
in which ss add
conditional sentences.

A/w: 1m

p. 68 ss read texts and complete tasks -> ss write about someone they know using same vocabulary -> ss read aloud and answer qs from class

p. 68 further written copy
 – ss use model to write notes to each other on the basis of information provided in previous ex.

p. 69 gap fill sentences
summarising a
conversation between
two men about their

first listening; she is calm, in control and successfully saves their lives by landing the plane; he panics completely

p. 66 colour drawing of
man in restaurant spilling
wine and throwing salt over
shoulder; low modality –
conceptual; offer; medium;
eyelevel

p. 67 collage of elements in a story featuring John, Olga and the second girl – conceptual; John looks out but the low modality makes the demand weak – Olga starts into the distance and the second girl wears sunglasses; medium; eye level

p. 68 3 colour drawings of photographs of the characters in the reading; conceptual; demand (but weakened by low modality); close; eyelevel

p. 69 colour drawing of two young men in work canteen; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel

p. 69 colour drawing of 2 young men and 2 young women – 2 are acting out a script; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel

23: If I were you, ...

Other (giving advice)	p. 70 Language/listening and reading: B is trying to do something (repair a bicycle?) and is being given advice by A, C, D, and E Text: 3m/2f	p. 70 dialogue	UK	p. 70 m RP/MPRP intro; m RP/MPRP; m RUK (Cockneyish); m IIC (American); 2 f RP/MPRP p. 71 ex to practise consonant clusters: m RP/MPRP Tape: 5m/2f	p. 70 10 drawings of a car to illustrate 'spacial orientation' – ss match expressions and pictures p. 70 ss listen to tape and identify differences in written version -> ss choose expressions from dialogue to learn p. 71 ss practise saying words/expressions with consonant clusters p. 71 discrimination ex to practise 2 nd conditionals -> ss read a text (similar to the John and Olga listening in previous unit) and use it as a model. Note content of model with reference to changing partners. Written from male point of view p. 71 ss write a short speech in which they try to convince others	p. 69 pron ex using some utterances from previous listening ex. p. 69 in prs ss write a 4 line dialogue which must include a question about someone they know A/w: 2m/2f	female boss
						p. 70 low modality colour drawings of man with red car; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel p. 71 colour drawing from classroom – female ss making speech – 3 m and 1 f students listen; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel	

27: Probability

Other (tall tale about man who lures gullible young woman to a photographer's studio ...)	p. 84 Listening: Fred (van driver but says he's a photographer) chats Janet (shop assistant) up at a party and tells her a series of lies to impress; ss are provided with a written profile of Fred against which they check his statements for accuracy (Note the 'jokiness' – gives his name as Frederick Getty Onassis; knows Paul McCartney)	p. 84 dialogue; comic	UK	p. 84 m RP/MRP intro; m RUK (Cockneyish); f RUK (more Estuary) – note the Cockney accent for lying Fred and RUK for gullible Janet	p. 84 ss listen and note differences -> gr focus on modalised statements for certainty and probability -> cp using picture (see notes in TB – possibility of confusion)	p. 84 colour drawing of Welsh village with vintage cars; conceptual; offer; medium; viewer slightly looking down
				p. 85 initial consonant clusters with 's': m RP/MRP	p. 85 ex to practise consonant clusters	p. 85 colour cartoon strip to illustrate 2 nd part of Fred and Janet story; narrative; offer; medium; variety viewer perspectives (movement)

Text: 3m/2f

28: Somebody with blue eyes

Other (physical description)	p. 87 Listening: authentic in which 5 speakers describe characters on p. 87	p. 87 monologues	Not specified	p. 87 ex to practise stress, rhythm and linking: m RP/MRP intro; 2m /2 f RP/MRP; 2 f RUK	p. 86 ss match sentences for with pictures to practise physical description – note black woman and young female doctor -> ss write descriptions for another set of drawings -> focus on compound adjectives for physical description	p. 86 low modality colour drawing of characters referred to in sentences; conceptual; 2 demands (weakened by modality), 4 offers, close-medium; eyelevel
	Text: 3m/2f			p. 87 4m/1f RP/MRP		p. 86 low modality colour drawing of characters; conceptual; 1 demand (weakened by LOW modality), 5 offers; medium; eyelevel

p. 83 pre-teaching of key vocabulary by dictionary -> jigsaw activity -> listening

Tasks: 19m/ 5f
A/w: 8m/1f

sentences to practise stress, rhythm and linking -> ss describe another set of character p 87 and listen to tape – p. 87 ss write about themselves – partners respond (‘So have I’ etc.) -> results are written up – model includes ‘**Both of us go to church, but we go to different churches**’.

p. 87 characters in a lines at a party – essentially conceptual although two are dancing together; offer; medium; eyelevel; **note black man and white woman in wheelchair cf. OUP interviews**

Tasks: 4m/7f

A/w: 11m/12f

p. 88 describing things with and without ‘that’ e.g. ‘...a gun – a thing that can kill people’; ss match words, pictures and definitions -> further cp focussing on prepositions -> ss write definitions for such things as church and lipstick

p. 88 2 sets of low modality drawing – conceptual

p. 89 seven objects (including a cat) corresponding to chart - conceptual

p. 89 antonyms -> apply to objects in classroom

p. 89 chart showing what things are made of (e.g. cotton, metal etc.) -> ways of describing objects in terms of solidity, alive or not, edible or not etc. -> 20 Questions as a game to practise language

p. 90 focus on a/w to exemplify reflexive pronouns -> TPR tape

p. 90 ‘children’s drawing’ of a woman falling in love with a man and a man and

29: Things

Other (definitions and descriptions of things)

No listening/reading text as such – rather a series of exercises

-

-

-

30: Self and others

Other (things we do ourselves and things others do for us e.g.

p. 90 Language/listening: TPR sentences to

p. 90 imperatives

Not specified

p. 90 m RP/MRP intro; m RP/MRP; f IIC (American)

decorating)	exemplify gr point				<p>p. 91 m/f RP/MRP</p> <p>Tape: 3m/2f</p>	<p>activity ('Look at each other' etc – note 'Touch each other') -> further cp on reflexive pronouns</p> <p>p. 91 ss match household activities (e.g. cleaning, cooking etc.) to drawings</p> <p>p. 91 pron ex focusing on stress and rhythm in expressions of agreement and disagreement (e.g. 'Of course') -> statements which ss discuss to practise exponents e.g. 'If you are married and fall in love with somebody else, you shouldn't tell your wife/husband')</p>	<p>a woman looking at themselves in mirrors; very low modality</p> <p>p. 91 low modality colour drawing of domestic scenes – conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel – note man ironing, (black) woman painting wall, man cooking, man doing dishes and (black) man shopping in supermarket</p>
31: Before and after	<p>Other (sequencing events in relation to daily routines)</p> <p>Trade, profession, occupation</p> <p>Travel</p>	<p>p. 99 Listening: commercial traveller rings boss to report on progress; switchboard (f)</p> <p>p. 99 Reading (and writing): Alison escapes boring life in Barnstaple and meets Carlos on holiday. 1 and 3 from Mills and Boon-type novel -> ss write 'chapter' 2.</p>	p. 99 dialogue	UK	<p>p. 98 pron ex: m RP/MRP intro; 2m/2f RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 99 f RP/MRP; m RUK (Estuary); m RP/MRP</p> <p>Tape: 5m/3f</p>	<p>Tasks: 3m/3f A/w: 6m/6f</p> <p>p. 98 ss choose 1 of 20 qs and ask as many ss as possible -> report findings to class -> ss write a paragraph sequencing what they do in the evening</p> <p>p. 98 pron on 3 RP vowel sounds</p> <p>p. 98 ss add <i>still, yet</i> and <i>already</i> to 5 mini texts.</p> <p>p. 99 ss listen to tape and list the towns in the order they are</p>	<p>p. 98 'cropped' low modality colour drawing of John in bed and Susan at dressing table; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 99 low modality colour drawing of Alison walking on moors (23 and living alone) and with Carlos under palm trees drinking champagne. 1st is conceptual, 2nd is narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel</p>

32: I hadn’t seen her for a long time

Other (unexpected events; things going wrong)	p. 100 Language/listening: song about boy who meets girl after separation a long time before – pretext for past perfect	p. 100 song p. 101 monologue	UK
	p. 101 Listening authentic: story about a day in which things go wrong		

Texts: 2m/2f
A/w: 13m/5f

33: All right, I suppose so

Free time, entertainment	p. 102 Language/listening and reading: teenage boy asks mother if he can have 20/30 people round for a party – implication is a previous party had been problematic	p. 102 dialogue	UK
	Text: 2m/1f A/w: 5m/12f (at least)		

mentioned

p. 99 ss read chapters 1 and 3 of a story – then decide on what happened in chapter 2.

Tasks: 5m/4f
A/w: m/f

	p. 100 m RP/MRP intro; m singer – accent not identifiable	p. 100 ss gap fill song and then listen to check -> count the words ex	p. 100 3 low modality colour drawings laid out as overlapping photos – boy meets girl; they share a drink; boy alone looking at empty table; overall narrative; offer; medium; 1 eyelevel, 2 have view looking slightly down
	p. 100 count the words ex: m RP/MRP	p. 101 gr focus on past perfect -> gap fill to practice	
	p. 101 story about day when things go wrong: m RP/MRP	p. 101 ss listen to story and put pictures in order	

Tape: 4m

p. 101 ss talk about a day when everything went wrong for them or a meeting with someone they hadn’t seen for a long time

Tasks: 1m/1f

	p. 102 m RP/MRP intro; m/f RP/MRP	p. 102 ss read, listen and spot the differences -> practise dialogue	p. 102 low modality colour drawing of mother and boy each with a different version of the party in their respective thought bubbles; conceptual with each bubble as a narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
	p. 103 q tag intonation ex: m/f RP/MRP	p. 103 q tag gap fill -> q tag intonation recognition ex	
	p. 103 weak and strong forms: recognition -> production: m/f RP/MRP	p. 103 reported questions and commands gap fill	

Tape: 4m/3f

p. 103 pronunciation of weak forms vs emphatic speech – production

34: If he had been bad at maths, ...

Other (a life story)	No listening/reading text as such – rather a series of exercises beginning with Mark Perkins’ illustrated life path	-	Not specified	p. 105 ex to practise initial unstressed vowels: m RP/MRP intro; m/f RP/MRP p. 105 further practice: m/f RP/MRP Tape: 3m/2f	p. 103 ss prepare a conversation - teenagers wanting to do things parents might object to; borrow parents’ car; secretary has been given too much work and a shop assistant want a day off – note ‘A boss asks his or her secretary ...’
				Tasks: 5m/5f p. 104-105 ss complete sentences about Mark and then invent new ones based on a/w -> ss decide on most important event in his life p. 105 ss decide if ‘d’ = had or would and if sentences need commas	p. 105-106 very low modality drawing illustrating a man life – the paths he took and those he didn’t; conceptual; offer (except l st – but demand is very weak on account of modality); mainly medium; mainly eyelevel
				p. 105 ss write about their own life and partner asks qs p. 105 2 ex on pronouncing words with unstressed vowels p. 105 ss continue Mark’s life path and tell class	

35: Travel

Travel	p. 106 Language/listening: ss match 13 situations to exchanges on tape – all are related to various	p. 106 dialogues	UK	p. 106 m RP/MRP intro; 6 m/ 6 f RP/MRP; 2 m IIC (American); 1 f OEC	p. 106 13 very low modality colour drawings to illustrate situations; overall collage effect with individual narratives and
				Tasks: 2m/3f A/w: 23m/6f p. 106 ss match words to pictures and then pictures to situations heard on tape -> dictation from tape of	

36: Shall I open it for you?	types of travel (travel agent; train station; left luggage; train compartment; road accident; bus stop; flight check-in; motorway; petrol station; traffic jam; plane take off; garage)	Other (offers in mainly domestic settings)	No listening/reading text as such – rather a series of exercises	-	Not specified	p. 109 m/ f RP/MRP Tape: 1m/1f	p. 108 ss match a set of offers to a/w -> q/answer gap fill on making, accepting and rejecting offers -> ss listen and read offers to which they respond p. 108 ex on phrasal verbs in which ss move the particle -> ss change objects to pronouns in same set of sentences -> T performs actions (with phrasal verbs), ss observe and memorise the actions -> ss in prs mime a conversation and class guesses the words Tasks: 1f A/w: 8m/9f	p. 107 pronunciation or not of ‘r’: f RP/MRP Tape: 9m/8f	p. 107 for on pronunciation or not of ‘r’ p. 107 ss prepare a conversation for one of the following: having a car repaired; asking/giving directions; air travel enquiry; being stopped by police – situational lexis provided for each situation	one utterance/exchange p. 107 for on pronunciation or not of ‘r’ p. 107 ss prepare a conversation for one of the following: having a car repaired; asking/giving directions; air travel enquiry; being stopped by police – situational lexis provided for each situation	conceptual drawings; medium; and a variety of points of view e.g. plane take off is seen from below to clarify meaning
	A/w: very low modality +/- 19m/13f						p. 108 low modality colour drawings each with 2 represented participants where one offers to help the other; each is a narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel Note black woman and black girl in 1st drawing. All other characters are white and, with the exception of one clearly middle-aged man, young adults engaged in everyday chores e.g. carrying the luggage, answering the phone etc.				

36: Shall I open it for you?

Appendix 6

Coursebook title: The New Edition New Headway Intermediate

Level: Intermediate students

Number of units: 12

Length of course: 120 hours

Language systems: ‘integrated’ syllabus with 7 strands: grammar; vocabulary; Everyday English; reading; speaking; listening; writing; grammar of standard British English; no syntactic variation (except for error correction exercises presented as students’ writing); functions (requests and offers) contained in everyday English which focuses on idiomatic expressions and informal English; listening skill tapes contain representations of features of spoken English (ellipsis, fillers, hesitation); main focus is on RP/MRP although all units feature RUK; six units feature OEC, three with extended turns; lexis is topic-related

Abbreviations: m = male; f = female; TB = teacher’s book; SB = student’s book; cp = controlled practice; q/a = question and answer; a/w = artwork; RP/MRP = RP/modified RP; RUK = regional UK; IIC = international inner circle; OEC = outer/expanding circle

Unit	Topic	Characters (real/fictional; sex; age; ethnicity; job)	Text type/point of view/treatment	Location	Tape	Task types	Artwork/General comments
1: It’s a wonderful world!	Other (wonders of the modern world)	p. 6-7 Language: ‘general knowledge’ quiz in which Neil Armstrong, John Lennon and Nelson Mandela are referred to	p. 10-11 celebratory view of the world we live in and human achievement so far; pov is established through lexis and high modality e.g. ‘surely these are our modern wonders’	UK/The world	p. 6 m RP/MRP intro; 6m/ 6f RP/MRP	p. 6-7 personal information exchange; general knowledge quiz; focus on emphatic pron on auxiliary in negative; personal information gap fill (note focus on leisure) and exchange; meaning of apostrophe’s’	p. 6 b/w comic cartoon to accompany ‘Test your grammar’ – this is a feature of all units
		p. 10-11 Reading: wonders of the modern world – internet, medical science, international travel, agriculture, space travel, Olympic games; Neil Armstrong/Swift mentioned; note: ‘we are a world on the	p. 12 poss problems mentioned		p. 7 4m/ 4f RP/MRP; p. 7 7m RP/MRP; 1m OEC; 8f RP p. 71m RP/MRP	p. 6-7 colour photographic collage for quiz – ‘hippy’ JL head holding flower; overall conceptual; demand; close; eyelevel	p. 6-7 colour photos of Kaori; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; viewer slightly looking down (this
					p. 8 1m IIC (American); 1f RP/MRP	p. 8 short and long answers; 2 dialogues between father and teenage daughter; grammar of spoken English – longer	
					p. 8 6m RP.MRP; 1f IIC (American); 1f RP/MRP		

move’ + that
European farmers
have harnessed the
earth – if only
politicians could find
a way of sharing the
surplus!

p.12 Listening:
g/father, father and
daughter discuss their
wonders – dishwasher,
mobile phone, and
Internet/email

p. 13 Writing:
informal letter:
separate section at the
back of the book; error
correction by way of
review and learner
training by correction
code introduction;
letter from Kati in
Dublin to Stephanie;
staying with a family
where the man is a
teacher and woman
has a non specific job
in a hospital; ref to
study, leisure
activities, and request
for S to visit; CP is
comprehension qs and
imitation of the letter.

Texts: 10m/9f
A/w: 15m/3f

p. 9 4m/3f
RP/MRP;
1m/1f IIC
(American); 1f
RUK (northern)

p. 12 2m/1f
RP/MRP
p. 12 1f RP/RP

p. 13 1f RP/RP;
9m RP/RP; 10f
RP/MRP; 1f
OEC
p. 13 2m/ 3f
RP/MRP

Tape: 45m/43f

answers are ‘shown’
to be more
engaging/polite;
reinforced by
Grammar spot -> cp
of longer answers
(note refs to
computers again
here); jigsaw reading
about successful
Japanese woman who
is a ‘UN Goodwill
Ambassador’ (not
explained), film star,
best-selling writer,
wife and mother.

p. 10-11 reading has
standard ELT pre-
reading activities –
comp tasks are
closed and follow up
asks ss to discuss
their favourite
website and when
they last travelled by
plane

p. 12 listening – three
generations discuss
their wonders – **note**
how the
grandfather does
housework; closed
tasks – content is a
springboard – nature
of content not
scrutinised cf.
Wallace

p. 12-13
pron/vocabulary:
parts of speech;
spelling /pron
relationship;

clarifies her roles more)

p. 10-11 colour photos **all**
blending into to one
another wrapped around
text – reinforces ‘one
worldness’ of text –
overall conceptual;
close/medium/far; variety
of povs – effect of
movement

p. 12 colour photograph of
US-looking family group;
conceptual; demand;
medium; eyelevel

p. 13 colour photograph of
family at b/fast time;
narrative; offer; medium;
viewer looking slightly
down; horizontal tilted –
adds to sense of drama

Note overall sensory
orientation of
photography

2: Get happy!

Trade, profession, occupation	p. 15 Language: Sidney Fisk, white, 45 yr old lawyer for international company from Dallas; very well paid, works long hours, and travels a lot – currently in Mexico, next week France; info on big house, family (wife is an interior designer), plays golf with wife if home at w/end; doesn’t know if he’s happy	p. 15 presentation is magazine-style profile; not credited	USA/UK	p. 15 m RPMRP intro; f RP/MRP; 1m/1f RP/MRP	p. 14-15 discrimination gr test (e.g. English speaks all over the world/English is spoken all over the world); ss rank ingredients of happiness (‘safe’ list - doesn’t include religious, political, sexual freedom); comp qs on Sidney Fisk – ss asked if they’d like to have a similar life; gr focus gap fill relates to SF - > ss make qs about SF from cues, listen to check -> personalise	p. 14 b/w very low modality ludic cartoon family scene; cross-generational montage of smiling happy people (1 black boy/ 1 poss Japanese young man); overall conceptual; close-medium; variety of povs/ no framing –overall kaleidoscopic effect
Free time, entertainment	p. 16 Listening: adaptation of US story about white, 45 yr old graduate who is a paperboy. Original source is The National Enquirer ; opted for a low status job (but earns \$60K a year) and has time to dedicate to his family and play golf; studying for Master’s and thinking about becoming a marriage	p. 16 personal narrative; options presented as his choice		p. 16 m IIC (American)	p. 15 colour photo of SF on bed in hotel eating sandwich and using laptop; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel; colour photo inset of SF leaving for work; narrative; longer shot; eyelevel	p. 15 low modality colour drawing of A and B; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel

suffixation;
collocation;
recording vocab

p. 13 everyday English: ‘social expressions’ - focus on readymade chunks.

counsellor	RP/MRP p. 21 2m/4f RP/MRP; 2m/2f RUK (northern and NI); 1m IIC (American) Inter-rater reliability agreement except JK identified NI accent as IIC. Tapes: 16m/15f	active vs stative verbs -> error correction + gap fill p. 18-19 pre-reading schema activation and comp qs -> gr spot on passives from text -> guessing meaning from context -> interview with Lucy -> personalisation p. 20 sports and the verbs that go with them – play, go, do; gap fill -> chart completion (people, place, equipment/clothes) p. 21 grid completion for sports listening -> personalisation p. 21 repetition of numbers + dictation - > ss compare 5 important numbers in their life p. 21 Writing: letters/emails; focus on formal and informal modes of address/beginnings and conclusions/ways of ending. The informal all relate to social events, catching up, saying thanks – the formal to do with paying for things by	photo; narrative with Lucy pointing to colleague; smiling demand; medium; horizontal; b/w (to indicate seriousness) insert of Lucy with sick child; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel p. 20 high modality colour photo; participants are young except two attractive older people (50s/60s man /woman) jogging; two black characters (man/woman); narrative sections in overall conceptual montage with no framing; offer; medium shots and variety of points of view contribute to overall impression of activity p. 21 3 small colour photos to illustrate each listening; OAP stretching is narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; other 2 are conceptual; offer; medium' eyelevel for Thomas; viewer looking up at Jenny
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3: Telling tales

post (e.g. CD ROM), an inquiry about advertised w/end break in Daily Telegraph.

Tasks: 16m/15f A/w: 21m/20f

Other (Native American morality tale; lives of two famous artists)	p. 22-23 Language: Native American brave tells woman nobody can beat him; woman takes to screaming baby; brave tries to entertain baby, fails, and flees defeated	p. 22-23 feminist fable/morality tale	UK	p. 23 m RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP p. 23 pron ex to practise /t/ /d/ /ld/: f RP/MRP p. 24 f /m RP/MRP; 7m/7f RP/MRP p. 25 2f RP/MRP p. 28 m IIC (American); m RUK (MILD Est); f RUK (mild west country); f IIC (Irish) p. 29 6m/6f RP/MRP; 2f IIC (American); m/f RUK (northern) Tape: 18m/23f	p. 22-23 tense test matching sentences to pictures -> ss add clauses in different tenses to fable text -> gr spot on past structures with e.g.s. from text -> pron of -ed ending from text p. 24 day in the life of business woman to practise q forms -> personalisation p. 24 on responding and asking a q – matching and pr wk practice p. 25 jigsaw reading about Wanda/Roy holiday in Florida; W's exp (£100) Italian sunglasses washed away by wave -> beginning of conversation where W tells Nicola what happened -> ss continue story and then listen to tape to compare p. 25 art/literature	p. 22 low modality cartoon – note f role as business woman and aproned m as cook p. 22-23 colour non-western non-naturalistic drawing; brave is twice size of f in first frame; baby bigger than brave in second frame; all fames with decorative border thus enhancing its folk art status; narrative structure; offer; medium; eyelevel p. 24 colour photo of Judy, 30s, white, working on laptop on plane – wedding ring visible; conceptual; offer; medium-close; eyelevel p. 25 colour photo of W with head on R's shoulder; demand; he's smiling, she's waving; close-up, eyelevel; sloping horizon suggests problem; high modality, tending towards sensory; framed, both participants very salient on account of clothes; white, 20s
Trade, profession, occupation						
Travel	p. 26-27 A/B Reading: two biographical portraits (early life, life's work, final years) of Picasso and Hemingway	p. 26-27 travel guide-type biographies				
Free time, entertainment		p. 28 conversation between friends				
	p. 28 Listening: contrived conversation with US male US, Irish (southern) woman, English man and woman discussing their fav bks/films – Maeve read CCM while on holiday on Gk island; all going on holiday to Florida next month; Tom Cruise, Penelope Cruz, Nicolas Cage, JK Rowling, Bram Stoker, Hemmingway, Harry Potter, and CCM mentioned					p. 106-107 2 stylized

<p>4: Doing the right thing</p>	Other (teenage life)	p. 30 Language: interview with 2 (black/white) British teenage girls on things they like/don't like about being a teen	p. 30 interview	UK	<p>p. 25 Writing: European and Chinese morality tales; both gap fills -> ss write a similar tale</p> <p>Texts: 27m/14f A/w: 15m/6f</p>
	Travel				<p>lexis; gap fill</p> <p>p. 26-27 pre-reading discussion about artists -> true/false statements -> ss share information about respective artists -> gr spot further tense identification and gap fill practice</p> <p>p. 28 listening comprehension -> writing on bk/film ss has seen</p> <p>p. 29 Everyday English – asking for and giving opinions</p> <p>Tasks: 24m/9f A/w: 20m/14f</p>
	Food and drink				<p>colour drawings – old man dying in bed with 3 sons thinking about buried treasure; emperor with daughters and princes; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel for old man – emperor slightly elevated</p> <p>p. 26-27 b/w photos of P and H; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel + Guernica/2 novels at bottom of each text</p> <p>p. 28 colour photo of 4 friends having a meal on deck of boat; 20s; white; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 29 colour photograph montage of international group of people of wide age range; 2 Muslim f with boy; dark skinned smiling m/f couple at café table; middle-aged latino male talking to younger man and woman; older white f talking to younger – no framing – softened edges and sensory orientation</p> <p>p. 30 b/w low modality cartoon of woman on phone (‘ I have to go now’) with rowdy children in b/ground/ludic</p>
	Places	p. 33 Writing: reading on the adv/disadv of being a child; implication that children don't have to	p. 34-35 mock-up of magazine article		<p>p. 30-31 colour photo of smiling S and L on bed talking; inset of L's parents; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel – insets are conceptual; offer;</p>
			<p>p. 30 m RP/MRP intro; 1m/ 2 f RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 30 2f RP/MRP; 1m RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 31 3m /3f RP/MRP</p>	<p>p. gr test to write negatives of modal sentences of obligation/permission</p> <p>p. 30 gap fill -> listen to check and repetition -> gap fill gr spot on obligation and lack of</p> <p>p. 31 negative, q and</p>	

work, shop, cook, clean and that they have plenty of free time – ‘All in all, being a child is an exciting, action-packed time in life’; disadvantages are that you can’t do whatever you want (contradicting 1st paragraph) and that you have to ask to ask your parents if you want to stay out etc.; ss analyse text and write similar text on ‘getting older’, having a degree, having children while young’

p. 34-35 Reading: dubious HSBC-type guide to good manners in different parts of the ‘global village’ – e.g. in the US a hamburger should be eaten quickly with both hands and without conversation!

p. 36 speakers talk about inviting guests home for a meal in their country (similarly dubious, at least with regard to UK)

Texts: 7m/7f
A/w: 24m/23f

p. 36 personal account

p. 32-33 2m RP/MRP - Antony and George plan trip to Asia – they discuss how to take money and when it’s best to visit Thailand; f RP/MRP - grandmother gives A advice

p. 33 2m RP/MRP

p. 36 f RP/MRP (listening to check ‘nationality words’)

p.36 f OEC (fake Japanese); f RUK (west country); m OEC (Brazilian)

p. 37 everyday conversation: 4m RP/MRP; 6 f RP/MRP; 2 f RUK (northern/estuary); 2 m RUK (Cockney/ NI); 1m/1f IIC (Aust) -> 4m RP/MRP; 3 f RP/MRP; 1 f RUK

past forms of modal sentences -> personalization -> cp gap fill: **note**

‘Where’s my briefcase? I’ve got to go to work!’ is spoken by a woman and ‘I haven’t got any clean sock. I’ve got to do the washing.’ by a man -> personalization

p. 33 gap fill and matching sentences **note CP in which one of them**

suggests going to Japan first as ‘I have some friends there’

p. 32 ss decide what UK signs mean -> compare UK laws with their own country

p. 32 short listening to contextualize *should/ must* – cp ex to practise + *must* and *can* -> modal error correction

p. 34-35 pre-reading on cultural practices in own country -> reading -> ss give e.g.s of bad manners in their country and discuss advice for s/one coming to live

medium; eyelevel – **note suited mother in supermarket isle with full trolley looking at watch – shelves blurred to suggest speed**

p. 32-33 colour photo of A and G at table with maps and guide books – superimposed on Thai pagoda shot; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel – decontextualized g/mother on faded edge of pagoda shot; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel

p. 33 decontextualized colour photo of Dave; conceptual; demand; close; eyelevel

p. 34 colour montage of culturally distinct groups: 2 white businessmen eating and working in restaurant; head scarfed and laughing Muslim schoolgirls; large group at kitchen table for meal – east European?; plenty of bread, women in pinnies, one with a headscarf; exchange of cards; overall conceptual; offer, medium, point of view varies, suggesting movement – **things are different in different parts of the world**

p. 36 colour photo of four people in what appears to be a Japanese restaurant;

		(Estuaryish)		in their country		narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel	
		Tapes: 22m/24f		p. 36 stereotypical statements about nationalities -> pronunciation of nationalities and exceptional collective nouns -> ss write stereotypical sentences about nationalities		p. 37 faded colour restaurant scene – male diner and waitress clearly visible; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel	
				p. 36 listening -> grid completion -> discussion			
				p. 37 series of ex to practice requests and offers -> role play (restaurant situation, help friend move flat, off to help cook mean for 20).			
				Tasks: 17m/10f A/w: 4m/5f			
Shopping		p. 38 Language: conversation between Ben and Alice (20s, white) about shopping list (<i>going to</i> vs <i>will</i>) – note Ben is doing it	p. 38 dialogue	p. 38 gr test matching prs of future form sentences -> ss make sentences based on Ben's 'to do' list -> gap fill dialogue bet B and A -> ss	p. 38 b/w low modality cartoon of frantic teenage girl and adult woman both about to answer the phone		
Free time, entertainment		p. 42-43 Reading: about Karen Saunders who own her own travel agency in Mayfair; sends people on 'dream holidays'; 3 exotic locations are focus of reading; fav place is home where she potters and cooks a delicious meal in the	p. 43 mock-up of articles form magazine	memorise, practise, substitute; gr spot focuses on difference bet <i>going to</i> and <i>will</i> and then future possibility with <i>might</i>	p. 38 colour photo of B at kitchen table in thought as he writes list; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel		
Travel				p. 39 m RP/MRP intro; m/f RP/MRP	p. 39 colour photo of B and A; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel		
Places				p. 40 1m/2f RP/MRP; 2m/1f RUK (northern, 2 x Scottish)	p. 41 2 colour photos of Liz (smiling, young, white, blonde) at home on phone writing on a wall calendar		
Weather				p. 40 m/f RP/MRP; m RP/MRP; f RUK (northern)			
				p. 41 2f RP/MRP			
				p. 44 weather forecast			

5: On the move

evening

p. 44 weather forecast
for 'some popular
destinations in western
Europe'

Texts: 3m/4f
A/w: 2m/2f

p. 44 f RP/MRP

P. 45 6m
RP/MRP; 11f
RP/MRP; 1f
RUK
(Estuaryish)

Tapes:
13m/21f

what is going to
happen ->
speculation about the
future ->
personalization e.g.
'my partner/be a
millionaire one day'

p. 41 Liz and Min
Young on phone
arrange to meet –
both have diaries full
of leisure activities;
pragmatics are
actually wrong for
this kind of thing (see
MY's 'I might be'
sends out the wrong
message completely,
but which L
understands as 'yes
-> ss complete diary
and try to arrange to
meet each other

p. 42 pre-reading
focus on three
different types of
hotel – comp is grid
completion; guessing
meaning from
context
-> personalization
about holidays –
ideal/next

p. 42 Writing:
making a reservation
by fax for b & b

p. 44 weather /
country lexis ->
listening and sharing
of information -> ss
write weather for

and Min Young (smiling,
young Oriental) in window
on phone, consulting
electronic diary – linked by
grid to be completed

p. 42-43 3 colour photos of
hotels; Ice hotel shows two
indistinct guests; overall
montage effect -> colour
picture of KS; conceptual;
smiling demand; close;
viewer looking up; insert of
bedroom in Tanzanian
hotel

p. 44 mp of western Europe
with borders and
superimposed grids for
completion

p. 45 montage of ways of
travel – overall conceptual
with narrative insert of
s/one giving directions on
tube

p. businessman on hotel
bed,\on phone, laptop open
on his knee; conceptual;
offer; medium; eyelevel

p. 109 corresponds to
writing; mock-up of fax
and insert of Cornish b & b

6. I just love it!

Travel	p. 46-47 Language: Sandy describes Soon-he to Nina – white family (40s parents, teenage boy and girl, and teenage Oriental girl)	p. 46 dialogue	Australia/the world	p. 46 m RP/MRP intro; 2f IIC (Aust)	p. 46 low modality b/w cartoon of man who looks like his dog/ludic
Food and drink	p. 50-51 Reading: ‘Global Pizza’ – history of the pizza; compared to the hamburger; note ‘McDonald’s Golden Arches span the globe’			p. 47 m/f RP/MRP	p. 46-47 colour photo of Soon-hee arriving at Sandy’s house; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel – blending into shot of S & S on bedroom floor together with CDs
Places	p. 52-53 Listening: comparison between New York and London; British residents in NYC say what they think about it; US resident in London gives his views	p. 52-53 interview		p. 50 m RP/MRP	p. 48 colour photo of Soon-hee and brother Sang-chul; conceptual; laughing demand; medium-close; eyelevel; colour portrait of S; conceptual; smiling demand; medium-close; eyelevel
House and home	p. 53 Writing: focus (relative pronouns) on text about ‘my favourite room’ (middle-class kitchen) -> ss imitate model			p. 52 2m RP/MRP; 5f RP/MRP; m RUK (west country); m/f IIC (American)	p. 49 2 low modality colour drawings to illustrate gr point (stopped to talk vs stopped talking); ludic; young male/female
				p. 52 f IIC (American); m/f RP/MRP; m RP/MRP; m IIC (American)	p. 50-51 text encircled by colour photos of crowd scene of large pizza being cooked in Naples on St Valentine’s day; astronaut eating a pizza in space; and
				Tapes: 14m/16f	

tomorrow

p. 45 Everyday English associated with travel matching -> role play: hotel guest calls reception to complain and order various things

Tasks: 6m/7f

A/w: 2m/7f

p. 46 gr test gap fill (uses of like)

p. 46-47 gap fill

dialogue -> focus on uses of like ->

personalization pr work -> ss listen to answer and select q asked

p. 48-49 verb form

discrimination ex ->

gr spot on -ing vs

full inf -> ss sort

verbs into patterns ->

multiple choice verb

gap fill -> written

production

p. 50 pre-reading on

typical dishes from

different countries ->

food vocabulary ->

comp qs -> q forms -

> personalization ->

language focus on

text

p. 52 collocations for

food, town, people ->

gap fill practice ->

‘talking about you’:

<p>and describe their favourite room</p> <p>Texts: 9m/13f A/w: 5m/5f</p>	<p>ss talk about restaurant where they had a memorable meal, a place they'd like to visit, a person who's important to them</p> <p>p. 52 ss b/storm NYC and London ->split listening -> share information</p> <p>p. 53 focus on common signs/labels, expressions, announcements</p> <p>Tasks: 8m/8f A/w: 10m/5f</p>	<p>smiling pizza delivery boy with; overall conceptual montage; offer (astronaut is demand); medium; viewer looks slightly down on giant pizza and delivery boy – more eyelevel for astronaut</p> <p>p. 52/p. 153 colour photo montage – 3 of 5 have represented participants – group of white teenage girls on sofa look at mobile phone; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; young white all male smiling group in Italian restaurant; narrative; offer; medium; viewer looking slightly down; two young white smiling mud-covered rugby players sit on ground, arms around each other – conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel</p>	<p>ss talk about restaurant where they had a memorable meal, a place they'd like to visit, a person who's important to them</p> <p>p. 52 ss b/storm NYC and London ->split listening -> share information</p> <p>p. 53 focus on common signs/labels, expressions, announcements</p> <p>Tasks: 8m/8f A/w: 10m/5f</p>	<p>smiling pizza delivery boy with; overall conceptual montage; offer (astronaut is demand); medium; viewer looks slightly down on giant pizza and delivery boy – more eyelevel for astronaut</p> <p>p. 52/p. 153 colour photo montage – 3 of 5 have represented participants – group of white teenage girls on sofa look at mobile phone; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel; young white all male smiling group in Italian restaurant; narrative; offer; medium; viewer looking slightly down; two young white smiling mud-covered rugby players sit on ground, arms around each other – conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel</p>		
<p>Trade, profession, occupation</p>	<p>p. 54-55 Language: Nancy Mann (30s, Argentinian, white) is interviewed for Geneva-based job as business journalist by David Benton (50s, Scottish, white)</p> <p>p. 55/112 letter of</p>	<p>p.55 interview – Nancy is very cosmopolitan, high powered and twice married</p>	<p>UK and the world</p>	<p>p. 55 m RP/MRP m RUK (Scottish); f OEC (Argentinian)</p> <p>p. 56 m RP/MRP</p>	<p>p. 54 tenses gr test</p> <p>p. 54 b/w low modality cartoon; ludic – obvious thief being asked 'What do you do?'</p> <p>p. 54-55 focus on job advert; ss asked if they'd like it -> gap fill interview -> ss listen to check -> gr spot focus on use of present perfect for unfinished time</p>	<p>p. 52-53 colour photos – montage of London and NYC scenes; conceptual; offer; medium/far; viewer looking down on London eye; NYC street; skyscrapers; eyelevel for London cab</p> <p>p. 55 colour photo of interview; narrative; offer; medium; viewer looking slightly down – (inappropriate body</p>

7: The world of work

<p>application: model text as gap fill -> ss write letter of application for tour guide job – this is not how people apply for jobs in UK</p> <p>p. 58-59 Reading: profiles of three individuals with ‘dream’ jobs – hurricane hunter, Stanley Karras (white, 30s, British); trapeze artist, Linda Spelman (nationality not specified, 34, white); skyscraper ironworker, Michael Doyle (US, 20-30, white)</p> <p>p. 61 retired Thomas Wilson (60s, white) talks to g/daughter (teenager, white) about his busy life</p> <p>Texts: 13m/10f A/w: 6m/3f</p>	<p>p. mock-up of magazine article – celebration of individualism/ aspiration</p> <p>p. 61 dialogue – old age as a time of leisure and activity</p>	<p>p. 57 m RP/MRP; f RP/MRP</p> <p>p. 61 m/f RUK (northern)</p> <p>p. 61 m IIC (American); 2f RP/MRP; f RUK (Estuaryish); 1m RUK (west country); 3m RP/MRP</p> <p>Tapes: 10m/6f</p>	<p>p. 56 matching clauses to complete life story of N -> tape to check -> ss make similar chart for their life which partner completes -> sentence extensive about self (pp with <i>for</i> and <i>since</i>) -> ss make ‘Have you ever ...’ qs and ask partner e.g. Have you ever been on TV?</p> <p>p. 56-57 focus on newspaper headlines -> gap fill text of TV news headlines – ss listen to complete -> gr spot on use of passive structures</p> <p>p. 57 ss rewrite newspaper headlines for TV -> listen to check -> ss discuss position of just, yet, already, ever and never in sentences -> tense discrimination ex</p> <p>p. 58-59 pre-reading focus on ss dream job -> split reading – ss share information -> comp qs -> language focus on phrasal verbs from text</p> <p>p. 58/153 role play; journalist interviews person with dream</p>	<p>language for interviewee) – photo overlaps with aerial shot of Geneva where job is set</p> <p>p. 56 montage of news stories with headlines – overall effect is conceptual; offer; variety of distances; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 58-59 3 colour photos accompany each text: Stanley and colleague look at monitor- conceptual; offer; close-medium; viewer looking slightly down; Linda on trapeze- conceptual; offer; medium; view looking up; Michael astride girder- conceptual; medium; viewer looking up</p> <p>p. 61 colour photo of Thomas and Philippa, smiling, his hand on her shoulder – narrative; offer; close-medium; eyelevel</p> <p>p. 61 two colour photos for everyday English – standing, smiling, suited young black woman on phone with other hand on computer monitor – conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel; smiling seated young man on phone – conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel</p>
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job

p. 60 focus on literal and idiomatic phrasal verbs -> ss identify both types in sentences -> separable and inseparable ex -> sentence completion with two participle verbs – note busy (colour/font) a/w for this

p. 61 ss discuss retired people in their family -> listening -> comprehension and gr tasks -> ss discuss retirement (best age etc)

p. 61 Everyday English focus on telephone language (e.g. 'line's busy') – gap fill -> listen to check -> telephone role play

Tasks: 12m/6f

A/w: 21m/3f

p. 62 conditionals matching

p. 62 b/w low modality cartoon of woman at desk imagining herself by the Pyramids/ludic

p. 62-63 gap fill dialogues with verb

phrase fragments; ss

practise 1st part and

then substitution drill

of problems and how

they'll be addressed

e.g. 'What will you

p. 62-63 m RP/MRP intro; 2m RP/MRP f RP/MRP

p.63 m/f RP/MRP

p. 64 3m RP/MRP; 2f RUK

UK

p. 62-63 dialogues

p. 62-63 Language: Jack and Annie are tired of English weather and are moving to Spain 'to live in the sun and grow lemons' cf. Dendrinos on Rod; friend David thinks they're crazy – but J and A have a solution

Other (relocation; winning the lottery; charities)

Travel

8: Just imagine!

to all problems – see content of CP activities	(Liverpool/Est)	do if ...? No problem! We'll ...' -> gr spot focus on 'tenses' in conditional sentences	is salient
p. 66-67 Reading: how lives have been ruined by winning the lottery and how some winners have survived	p. 66-67 mock-up of magazine article	p. 65 4m/ 4f RP/MRP	p. 64 colour photo of 5 individual with unfilled thought bubbles; 4 demands/1 offer; close-medium; variety of pov – this suggests difference
p. 68/114 Writing: holiday horror story; ss make notes on the worst holiday they've ever had -> focus on start of Jack and Lisa's holiday in strange mansion -> ss continue using sentence prompts -> ending supplied – ss now write their own story	p. 68 two of these are acknowledged – Crisis Now! may be invented. Genre is that of radio appeal.	p. 66 song – m/f IIC (both sound American)	p. 65 4 low modality limited colour stylised drawings – chauffeur outside big car and house, plane, boat, waiter, table with champagne; conceptual (luxury)
p. 68 Listening: 3 charity appeals on behalf of Amnesty International, World Wildlife Fund, Crisis Now!		p. 68 4m RP/MRP; 5f RP/MRP; 1m RUK (Est); m/f IIC (Aust)	p. 67 3 colour photos of winners celebrating lottery wins; man and woman and exploding champagne in front of L-plated car; jumping couple with large cheque; family (?) group with large cheque; essentially conceptual (celebration); offer, medium; variety of pov; framed as if photos to suggest individual stories
Texts: 6m/5f A/w: 15m/16f		p. 69 2f /2m RP/MRP	p. 68/114-115 3 low modality colour drawings of various scenes from horror story: purple and brown colours; distorted perspective; conceptual and 2 narratives – one of J and L going in and one in which they are shown several times within same drawing (as in a medieval painting) – going up stair, being shown bedroom and leaving in a hurry)
		Tapes: 21m/18f	

situations e.g. What would you do if you saw a ghost?

p. 65 matching from 3 columns to make 2 sentences – note feminist content e.g. authoritative female in work situation -> ss practise -> personalization e.g. What do you do if you can't sleep at night?

p. 66-67 orientation to reading is song 'Who wants to be a millionaire?' -> ss consider good and bad suggestions for people who win a lot of money -> gap-fill text -> comp qs -> ss consider their own views -> definitions ex on lexis from text

p. 68 focus on 'base and strong adjectives'; how strong adjectives can be intensified

p. 68-69 ss discuss charities -> chart completion on 3 charities listening -> ss consider who they would give £10,000 to

p. 69 everyday English focuses on

p. 69 5 colour photos link the speaking activity back to the listening – all suggest some kind of charity – middle-aged white man with dog; young black boy with copy books on his head; a rhinoceros, giving out food; UN food lorry with smiling turbaned man – overall conceptual; boy is smiling demand - others offer; medium; variety of pov

p. 69 colour photo of Maria and Paul side by side looking away from each other; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel

9: Relationships

Relations with other people	p. 70-71 Language: agony aunt, Susie (30s, white), replies to 2 letters	p. 70-71 mock-up of problem page replies	UK	p. 71 m RP/MRP intro; 6m RP/MRP; 8f RP/MRP; 2f RUK (Cockneyish)	p. 70 gr test – review of modal verbs	p. 70 low modality cartoon; estate agent trying to suggest tumble-down house might be historic; ludic
Travel	p. 74-75 Reading: how Carmen (30s, white)and Oliver Darrow (50s, white) see their relationship (egotistical father/estranged daughter); very extreme case of lack of awareness on the part of the father	p. 74-75 mock-up of magazine feature		p. 71 3m RP/MRP; 4 f RP/MRP; 2m RUK (Estuaryish, NI)	p. 70-71 orientation to problem pages -> ss read answers and speculate about nature of problems -> ss read letter on p. 154 to check (teenage girl is in love with a Hollywood star; unemployed husband who won't clean and may be gambling) -> gr spot focuses on degrees of possibility conveyed by modal verbs	p. 70 colour photo of Dr Susie; conceptual; demand; close; eyelevel; slight smile and glasses combine to connote friendship and professionalism
	p. 76/p. 116 Writing: ss read description of 'Aunt Emily' note	p. 77 interview (assumption in L's interviewer that parents are 'problematic' for teenagers)		p. 72-73 Andy and Carl conversation: m RUK (Scottish); m RP/MRP		p. 71/p. 154-5 4 colour and 1 b/w family snap shots; Nos. 1 & 3 are offers, remainder are demands; medium; all eyelevel except No. 3 in which the viewer looks down – overall conceptual (family);
	p. 77 Listening: Louisa (60s, white) and Rose (20-30s, white) talk about coming from a large family and being an			p. 73 8m RP/MRP 4f RUK	p. 71 ss respond to statements using modal verbs	p. 72 colour photos of Andy and partner and Carl and partner – all young and white; Andy self touching under shirt (see Goffman); Julie just out of focus smiles in the background; below tanned Carl in burgundy bath robe reaches for Marcia, equally tanned,
				p. 77 interviewer m RP/MRP; Louisa RUK (west country); Rose RP/MRP	(supplied) -> oral practice using tape as model -> ss listen to short dialogues and answer using modal verbs	

making suggestions and ways of accepting and rejecting them -> practice on tape -> role play five given situations e.g. you have the evening free, and there's nothing good on TV

Tasks: 6m/7f
A/w: 6m/5f

only child	p. 77 Sue and friends talk about themselves: 4m RP/MRP; 5f RUK (NI, Liverpool)	p. 71/154 ss look at 5 of Simon's family photos and speculate who people are	who sips coffee in white bath robe and looks smilingly into Carl's eyes. Both photos superimposed on Alpine ski slope; narrative; offer; close – medium; eyelevel
Texts: 9m/18f A/w: 2m/7f		p. 72-73 Andy and Carl discuss by phone their skiing holiday in which Carl had an accident – ss listen and complete C's utterances -> listen to check -> gr spot focus on past forms of modal verbs	p. 73 low modality cartoon ss; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
	Tape: 27m/27f	p. 73 ss respond to sentences using modal verbs (supplied) -> discussion of gr based on modal verb gap-fill	p. 74-75 2 colour photos of O and C at different stages in their lives; 1 st , with C as baby is narrative; offer; close; eyelevel – 2 nd in contrast – conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel – no smiling in this – 1 st allocated to O text, 2 nd to C text
		p. 74-75 ss talk about their family, who they are like and if they would bring their children up in the same way -> split reading on O and C -> ss compare answer and read 2 nd text -> modal verb work based on sentences about text	p. 76 colour photo of 7 smiling or thoughtful multicultural faces – conceptual; 5 demands/2 offers; close; eyelevel
		p. 76 vocab & speaking: personality quiz as way in to character adjectives – row of attractive multiracial faces + qs -> 16 adjectives to go with each q -> ss sort	p. 76/116 colour photo (sensory) of woman walking with dog; conceptual; smiling offer; medium; eyelevel
			p. 77 2 colour photos of Luisa and Rose; conceptual; smiling demand; close; eyelevel

10: Obsessions

Other (obsessive behaviour; passion for music; fame)	p. 78-79 Language: story about teenage boy who ran up a bill of £450 texting on mobile phone	p. 78-79 mock-up of newspaper article	UK and USA	p. 78 2m RP/MRP intro; f RP/MRP	p. 77 class survey on brothers and sisters - > Louisa and Rose listening + grid completion -> ss discuss the family they would like to have	into +/- and both. -> focus on opposites -> practice e.g. ss describe s/one in their class
Free time, entertainment	p. 81/p.117 Writing: focus on combining sentences – text about Astrid in which sentences have been combined -> ss practise with Alfred Nobel text -> ss write about a famous person they admire	p. 82-83 appears to be a magazine article – the ‘information’ is acknowledged; celebratory: ‘to his credit, he manages to earn a living’ – cf. Unit 7 and texts about ‘dream jobs’ - ‘Now there’s optimism for you’		p. 79 m/f RP/MRP	p. 77 Everyday English focus on agreeing/disagreeing using <i>So do I</i> -type expressions	p. 78 low modality cartoon to illustrate the difference between ‘drank’ and ‘been drinking’; ludic
	p. 82-83 Reading: text about Dennis Woodruff, an actor who has made a name for himself –	p. 84-85 interviews; both collectors are enthusiastic about their		p. 79 2f RP/MRP; f RP/MRP; 2f RUK (west country)	p. 79 mobile phone text provides context for present perfect simple/present perfect continuous contrast; comp qs -> q formation -> gr spot on difference	p. 79 colour photo of Tony and Lionel; conceptual; offer (son); demand (father) – both smiling; close; view looking slightly down; mobile phone salient as nearest to viewer
	p. 82-83 Reading: text about Dennis Woodruff, an actor who has made a name for himself –	p. 84-85 interviews; both collectors are enthusiastic about their		p. 81 m/f RP/MRP	p. 79 further cp of q formation -> personalization (statements about self and qs for partner) -> review of past simple q forms	p. 80 decontextualized colour photo of A with cello, roses at her feet; conceptual; smiling demand; medium; viewer slightly looking up -> cello points to colour photo f orchestra on p. 81 – conceptual; offer; medium-
	p. 84 Andrea Levitt			p. 81 m/f RP/MRP	p. 79 dialogue to	

apparently – by not getting parts; he remains optimistic	hobby	interview: m/f IIC (both American)	contrast uses of pp simple with pp continuous ->	far; viewer looking slightly down on scene
p. 84-85 Listening: interviews with collectors, Andrea Levitt (middle-aged, white US) and Jeff Parker (20s, white US) – dolls and Star Wars memorabilia. Unclear how Andrea makes a living		p. 84 Jeff Parker interview: f RP/MRP; m IIC (American)	sentence extension -> practice of same -> discussion and correction of errors	p. 81/p.117 colour photo of A seated with cello; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel; colour photo/photo of painting of AN; conceptual (he too is represented with tools of his trade); demand; medium; eyelevel
		p. 85 5m RP/MRP; 6f RP/MRP; 2m RUK (northern, Scots); 3f RUK (Scots, 2 Estuaryish)	p. 80 -81 chart showing full and successful life of Astrid Johnsson – note the aspirational nature of this content; comp qs -> gap-fill sentences about her life -> q formation about A -> ss make a similar chart of their own life (or that of s/one they know well) and then ask and answer qs with a partner -> ss look at the schedule for A's lecture tour, answer qs, and listen to check (note she speaks RP)	p. 82-83 two colour photos of DW with text; both conceptual; offer; medium-far in main photo, medium-close in smaller photo; eyelevel in main; viewer looking slightly down in smaller
Texts: 19m/6f A/w: 6m/2f		Tapes: 17m/20f	p. 81 discussion and correction of errors – q/a with partner using corrected qs e.g. 'What are you doing tonight?'	p. 84-85 colour photos of AL and JP surrounded by their collection; conceptual; demand (smiling in the case of AL); medium; eyelevel
			p. 82 ss discuss favourite film star -> focus on vocabulary from text -> comp qs -> ss write qs about DW to practise unit gr point -> guessing	

meaning from context

p. 84 focus on compound nouns from text -> ss practise compounding

p. 84-85 pre-listening qs on collecting -> split listening -> ss answer com qs and exchange information

p. 85 Everyday English focus on quantity expressions – gap-fill with provided expressions (note fonts and use of colour) -> ss listen to check and practise – then use same qs for pr wk personalization

Tasks: 5m/5f A/w: 4m/4f

Travel	p. 86 Language /listening: Flavia, who has just checked into a Toronto hotel, asks for tourist information in reception	p. 86 dialogue	UK and Canada	p. 86 m RP/MRP intro; f OEC (possible Italian); m IIC (Canadian)	p. 86 gr test on indirect qs and review of q tags	p. 86 b/w cartoon of 2 ducks commenting positively on wet weather; ludic
Other (life of a celebrity; facts about the world; problems associated with modern life)	p. 90-91 Reading: seven short texts on 'the world' e.g. whether animals have feelings; the oldest living things on the planet; what 'man-	p. 90-91 similar in tone to Wonders of the Modern World in Unit 1; disparate collection of supposedly interesting facts		p. 88 question tags: 3f RP/MRP	p. 86 indirect qs gap-fill based on tape exchange -> gr spot guided discovery qs on indirect qs -> ss practise the dialogue -> transformation of qs into indirect qs -> personalization in prs	p. 86 colour photo of Flavia and hotel receptionist superimposed on Toronto skyline; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
				p. 89 12m/ 13f RP/MRP; 2f RUK (northern; Cockneyish); m		p. 87 colour photo of Madonna on stage; conceptual; offer; medium;

11: Tell me about it!

made' things on earth can be seen from space; worst natural disaster; why aeroplanes have no row 13 (is this true for all countries?); why women live longer than men; and if Uncle Sam was a real person.		RUK (Cockneyish)	p. 87 ss make qs from information on chart and then transform these into 'polite questions' using 'Could you tell me ...' and 'Would you mind telling me ...?' p. 92 Listening: m IIC (Irl); f RP/MRP; m RUK (west country); f RUK (northern); m RP/MRP	eyelevel -> jigsaw reading has colour photo of Madonna; conceptual; smiling offer; close; eyelevel
	p. 92 radio programme		p. 87 ss b/storm what they know about Madonna -> using cues ss make indirect qs about M -> jigsaw reading about M p. 88-89 q tags – recognition -> gap-fill Tape: 23m/26f	p. 88 Karen and assistant at work; dialogue shows how busy she is – note feminist message that motherhood and successful career are not incompatible; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
p. 92 Listening: 'radio programme' in which participants tell of their forgetfulness which is explained by an expert. p. 93/p.118 writing: focus on linking devices; ss add these to email text in which Jackie tells Melody about her adult children's activities			p. 93 3m/3f RP/MRP; 2 m RUK (Welsh); 1f RUK (unidentifiable); f OEC (unidentifiable) Texts: 27m/10f A/w: 4m/4f	p. 89 low modality colour cartoon of boy and girl with lots of hearts between them to suggest love; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
			p. 89 ss add tags to a conversation -> listen to check -> ss choose another conversation from set on p. 156, add tags, learn, and act out for class p. pre-reading: ss speculate on answers to 6 qs corresponding to 6 mini texts; ss transform qs into indirect speech; ss read texts -> add final sentence to each text from list provided; ss decide	p. 90-91 only 3 of the 7 texts feature human represented participants; shot of interior of plane from rear; conceptual to illustrate point in text about rows; offer; medium; eyelevel; 3 old ladies with sun hats and sunglasses; conceptual to illustrate female old age; offer; close; eyelevel; Uncle Sam poster; conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel
				p. 93 3 young men (2 white, 1 Asian) on sofa with trainers on coffee

on what pronouns and determiners refer to in texts- > answer qs -> decide what a set of numbers refer to in texts – this kind of maximum exploitation of the text is typical of Headway – ss think about other things they’d like to know about the world - > ss choose 2 of these, research them, and make class poster	table; conceptual; smiling demand; close; eyelevel
p.92 listening: gist -> general qs about modern lifestyles -> grid completion about 3 speakers; comp qs -> ss say what they think about explanation (multitasking causes stress and people should make lists) and share personal stories on same topic	
p. 92-93 parts of the body -> verbs which go with the body (e.g. kick/foot) and things (kick/a football) -> idioms -> gap-fill	
p. 93 Everyday English: informal terms e.g. ‘quid’, ‘deli’	

12: Life’s great events!

Other (birth, marriage, death)	p. 94 Language/listening and reading: short text in reported speech as basis for gap-fill direct speech version; the story is of John’s proposal to Moira	p. 94 third person account + dialogue	UK
	p. 98 Listening: story about emergency birth on lifeboat from Scottish isle en route to mainland. This ‘information’ is acknowledged	p. 99 poem	
	p. 99 Reading: Auden’s Funeral Blues	p. 100 song	
	p. 100 Listening: My way (Sinatra not acknowledged – voice similar)		
	p. 100/119 Writing: error correction – back to Kati from Hungary writing to the Kendall’s in Dublin; ss correct and then write a thank you letter to s/one they’ve stayed with		

Texts: 14m/13f
A/w: 16m/ 11f
(wedding crowd scene but bride and groom are salient)

Tasks: 11m/11f
A/w: 5m/8f

p. 94 m RP/MRP intro; m/f RP/MRP	p. 94 gap-fill -> tape to check	p. 94-95 colour photo of wedding part in garden with bride and groom foregrounded; sensory; narrative; offer; medium-close; viewer looking down on scene
p. 94-95 m RP/MRP; m/f IIC (Irl)	p. 94 ss match Adam’s qs with Beatrice’s answers -> tape to check -> focus on B’s reported version to husband -> gr spot gap-fill in which ss make tense changes	p. 96 colour photo of West family in kitchen (30s, white); man does dishes; woman holding baby; conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel
p. 97 m/f RP/MRP	p. 95 ss continue reporting B’s account -> tape to check -> further practice with tape to check	p. 96 colour photo of Brady family on sofa (20s, white); man leans forward towards camera – both have expressions of frustration; conceptual; demand; medium-close; eyelevel
p. 97 f RUK (northern) -> f RP	p. 95 ss discuss if ‘d means <i>had</i> or <i>would</i> in set of sentences	p. 97 colour photo of KB being interviewed by policeman; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
p. 98 Listening: f RUK (Scottish) hesitancy represented	p. 95 sentence transformation from direct to reported speech	p. 97 colour photo of AW being interviewed by policeman; narrative; offer; medium; eyelevel
p. 99 m RP/MRP (Auden poem)	p. 95-96 ss read short text about problematic neighbours; note judge is a woman -> ss find reported commands and requests in text -> gr spot on reported commands and requests -> other reporting verbs -> ss referred to patterns on p. 158 and	p. 98 colour photo of Jane Banner with husband (?), midwife, sister (?) and crew of lifeboat; conceptual; demand; medium; eyelevel
p. 100 m IIC (American)		p. 100 b/w photo of Sinatra

Tape: 11m/12f

transform sentences - > tape to check	singing; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel
p. 97 police take statements from Kathleen Brady and Ann West (note use of accents): split listening – ss report to partner what their speaker said using reporting verbs from previous exercise -> ss write reports	p. 100/p. 119 Colour photo of Kati writing letter; conceptual; offer; medium; eyelevel
p. 98 birth, marriage and death lexis -> ss contextualize by writing the story of man's live which the c/b stars and finishes for them -> ss talk about what happens at births, weddings and funerals in their country	p. 101 4 colour photos – 3 of which feature represented participants – 2 women talk in street; narrative; offer (one does look out at viewer); medium; eyelevel; man puts hand to mouth in gesture of apology; conceptual; offer; close; eyelevel; old woman talks to very young child; narrative; offer; close; eyelevel
p. ss discuss the day they were born if they have an info -> story of Jane Banner's experience on lifeboat -> multiple choice answers -> role play between lifeboat crew member and a friend	
p. 99 Auden poem - comp qs – note the deliberate avoidance of the pronoun in 3.1 – a case of censorship as in the	

Amnesty text

-> ss learn poem and recite it

p. 100 ss listen to song and answer qs about message and stage of Sinatra's life when he sang it; gap-fill 'My Way' -> tape to check -> ss sing

p. 101 Everyday

English: ways of saying sorry with different meanings – gap-fill -> tape to check -> practise -> ss produce responses to 6 situations in which some form of 'sorry' or other expression is appropriate (cut off on phone; get off crowded train; order more water in restaurant; a friend's aunt has died; returning garment to shop; vegetarian dinner guest is served steak

Tasks: 12m/11f

A/w: 5m/8f

Appendix 7

Interview schedule for publishers

1. In June 1997 the EL Gazette ran an article which predicted the death of the global coursebook. The article anticipated the rise of a new type of coursebook aimed at specific markets and with greater local relevance. What do you think of this prediction, from the publisher's point of view?
2. How easy it is to produce a country specific coursebook, or editorialize an existing coursebook for a specific market?
3. What makes a country specific coursebook different from a global coursebook?
4. Are country specific coursebooks (or editorialized versions) written essentially for the secondary school market, rather than the adult market?
5. Do you agree that coursebooks are ultimately aimed at teachers rather than at students? Are students ever consulted in the writing/piloting of material?
6. Nowadays British publishing houses seek to use inclusive language and represent men and women fairly in educational material. Does this ethical dimension sometimes undergo modification in the production of country specific coursebooks?
7. A well-known coursebook writer suggested to me that race is the 'big issue' markets finds most confusing or difficult to deal with in coursebooks. Do you agree?
8. Gillian Brown has suggested that most coursebooks teach 'cosmopolitan English' – a variety of English which she suggests is concerned almost exclusively with leisure, not being bored, and the ability to spend money freely. Do you agree with this view?
9. In my PhD data which consists of interviews with practising teachers I found that they often produced metaphors for coursebooks, e.g. a tool, a bridge, handcuffs, and a source of 'boil in the bag' lessons. What do you think is a good metaphor for a coursebook?
10. How do you see coursebooks developing over the next ten years?

UNIT 1

Present Simple and Present Continuous

Present Simple: habits and states

PRESENTATION

Statistics

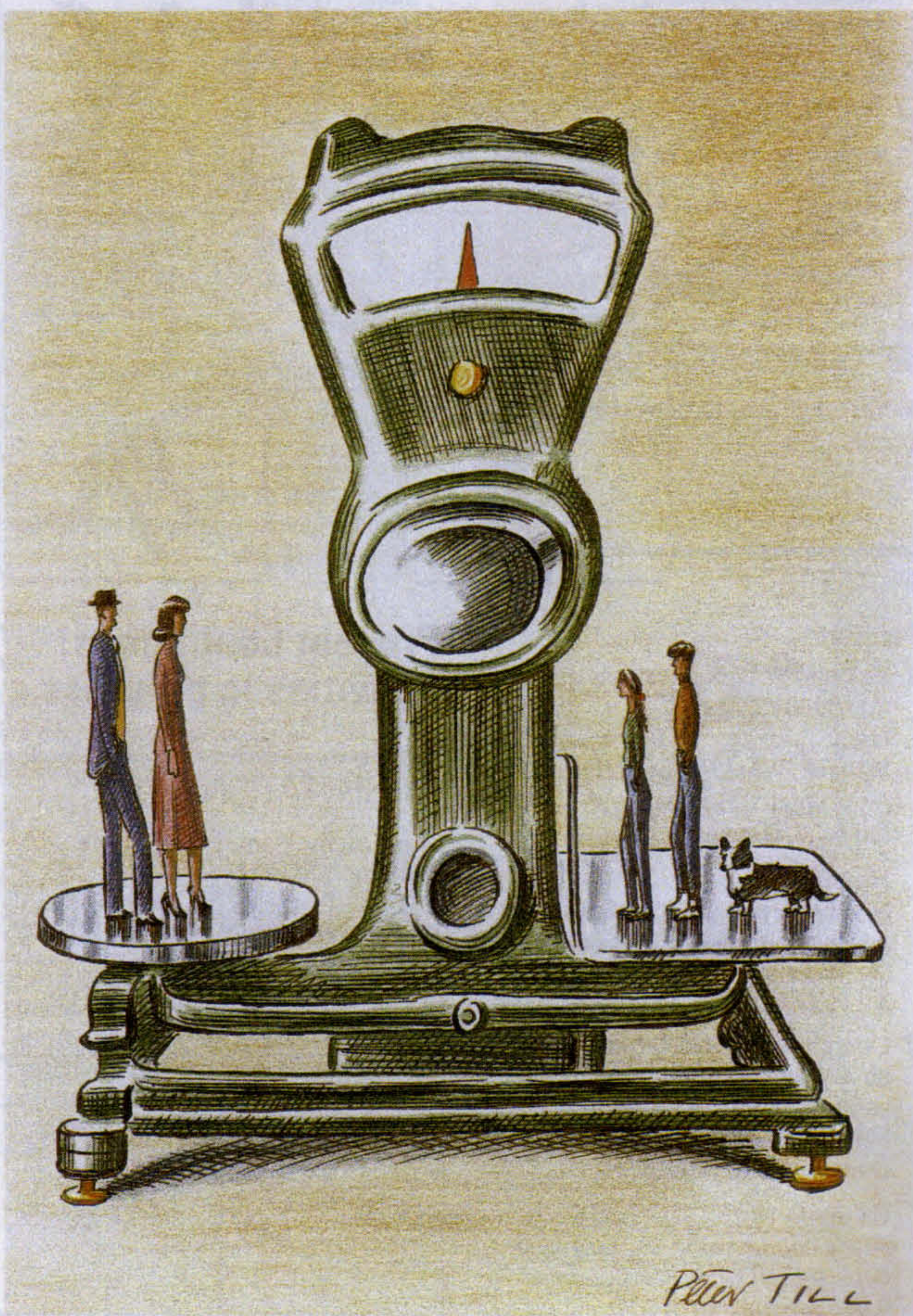
There is, of course, no such thing as the average British family, but statistical data can help us to understand a society and social trends.

Every year, official statistics based on questionnaires and surveys are published and these provide a lot of useful information on people's habits. This profile is based on one of their recent publications.

The average British family: A STEREOTYPE

The average British family lives in a semi-detached house with a garden in the south of England. They own their house, which is situated in the suburbs of a large town. The house has three bedrooms. On average they have two children and a pet. The family drives a two-year-old Ford Cortina.

He works in the office of an engineering company for 40 hours a week and earns £200 per week. He starts at 9.00 in the morning and finishes at 5.30 in the evening. He goes to work by car, which takes him 20 minutes. He doesn't particularly like his job, but there are chances of promotion.



She works in a service industry for three days a week and earns £95. She works locally and goes there by bus. She quite likes her job as it gets her out of the house, she meets people, and it is close to the children's school.

The children go to a state school which is a few miles from home. A special bus comes to pick them up every day. They are at school from 9.00 to 3.30.

The most popular evening entertainment is watching television or video, which the average person does for two and a half hours a day. After that, the next most popular activity is visiting friends, going to the cinema or a restaurant, or going to the pub. The most popular hobby is gardening and the most popular sports are fishing, football and tennis.

Practice

The following short dialogues are not very polite.
Re-write them to make them sound better. Then
practise the polite dialogues in pairs.

For example:

A: ~~I want to speak to Maria.~~

Can I please?

B: ~~She's in the bath. Call back later.~~

I'm sorry Can I take a message?

- a A: I want to use your scissors.
B: Yes.
- b A: Pass me my coat.
B: Here you are.
- c A: Lend me £5 until tomorrow.
B: I haven't got any money with me.
- d A: Bring me the bill.
B: Yes.
- e A: Give me a light.
B: My lighter isn't working.
- f A: If you're going into town, give me a lift to the bus stop.
B: Yes.
- g A: Tell me the way to the National Gallery.
B: I don't know this area very well myself.
- h A: Pick my suit up from the dry-cleaner's while you're at the shops.
B: I don't think I'll be able to carry it – I'll have a lot of other things.

a) Think of six things to ask other students in the class politely, using the following verbs.

- lend or borrow
- pass (me)
- turn on / turn off
- open or close
- move
- help (me)

b) Take turns to make your requests to each other. If the other student agrees, he /she must really do it. If your partner refuses, he / she must give a reason. Make sure your requests and answers sound polite.

Would you mind lending me your dictionary?

I'm sorry, I need it myself.

Sure ... here you are.

Guidelines for inclusive language for ELT authors and editors

In response to the increasing concern over discriminatory language and teaching materials, the ELT Division have compiled these guidelines. In doing so our aim is to help guard against sexual and racial stereotyping and to encourage the use of inclusive language wherever possible. Although the notes refer to sexual stereotyping, much of what is suggested here applies equally well to avoiding racial bias and it is hoped that the guidelines will increase awareness of both. These guidelines are not prescriptive but reflect the current attitudes and trends in the ELT world.

1. Visibility

When writing, editing, briefing artists, etc, remember that over half the population is female (it's a good idea to keep a count of ratios in text and illustrations).

2. Stereotyping

Avoid attributing specific traits or values to a sex.

a) Characteristics

Members of both sexes should be represented as whole human beings with human strengths and weaknesses, not masculine and feminine ones. Seek characters who embody a range of human potential, e.g. a woman can win an important election and display love for her children, a mild-mannered man can act bravely, etc. Remember that men can suffer from unrealistic sexual stereotyping too.

Allow

- | women: | men: |
|---|--|
| * to be praised for boldness, initiative, assertiveness | to be praised for compassion, sensitivity |
| * to exhibit the above characteristics as often as men | to be uncertain and in need of reassurance |
| * to exhibit self-control | to respond emotionally |

Avoid

- * stereotypes of emotional subjective female and logical objective male
- * generalizations about the abilities of either sex

b) Occupations

An attempt should be made to break job stereotypes for both women and men. No job should be considered sex-typed, and it should never be implied that certain jobs are incompatible with a woman's 'femininity' or a man's 'masculinity'. Thus women as well as men can be shown as accountants, engineers, pilots, plumbers, computer operators and astronauts, while men as well as women can be shown as nurses, primary school teachers, secretaries, typists, librarians, filing clerks, switchboard operators and child-minders. Remember that women make up 40% of the workforce.

Show

women:

- * participating actively and positively in worthwhile and exciting pursuits
- * in a wide variety of professions and trades (it's a good idea to keep a count of the range of occupations represented both in text and illustrations)
- * within a profession at all levels, including top levels
- * as mothers with outside employment
- * as having choice about marital status
- * at home as participating in a variety of home maintenance activities - e.g. paying bills, DIY, etc
- * (as girls in school) having and exercising the same options as boys in play and career choices
- * (as girls) at play that develops skills for future employment, e.g. vigorous games, building, inventing and problem solving

men:

- observing and lending support where appropriate
- sharing child-rearing responsibilities and domestic chores on a regular basis
- (as boys in school) being interested in poetry, art, etc, and having an aptitude for domestic skills such as cooking

Avoid

- * implying that the emotional life of a family suffers because a woman works outside the home
- * implying that a woman's employment is supplementary ('she works for pin money'), or a special privilege ('her husband allows her to work'), or is surprising ('she actually has her own business')
- * either degrading housework ('I'm only a housewife'), glorifying it as a role for women ('homemaking is the true vocation for a woman'), or implying that it is a surprising activity for a man
- * reinforcing the traditional conditioning that implies a man has to earn more than a woman or that he ought to be the sole support of a family

NB A good check is to ask if in certain circumstances a story could be told if the sex roles were reversed.

3. Equal respect

Women and men should be treated with the same respect, dignity and seriousness. Women should not be described by their physical attributes when men are being described by mental attributes or professional positions.

Avoid

- * describing men and women according to marital status unless relevant to the topic under discussion
- * speaking of women as possessions and using gender or marital status to qualify their achievements (as in, e.g. 'And now I present Mrs Mary Jones, wife of John Jones and mother of five children, who will give her report on ...')
- * (in describing women) a patronizing or 'girl'-watching tone
- * (when describing men in the home) referring to men's dependence on women for meals, clumsiness or foolishness in the area of household maintenance
- * the following stereotypes: henpecked husband, scatter-brained female, woman preoccupied with her appearance or with getting her man, fragile flower, catty gossip, henpecking shrew, frustrated spinster, ladylike little girl
- * stereotyped cliches: the woman driver, the nagging mother-in-law

NB Whenever you need to test a statement to see if it is offensive or patronizing, try substituting 'he' instead of 'she'.

4. Inclusive vocabulary

Here are some suggestions for avoiding biased vocabulary. Obviously their use will depend on context, language level, etc. However, it may be useful to consider the effect (on a foreign learner) of using the expressions in the left-hand column and trying one of the alternatives.

Instead of	Try
businessman	business person/people, executive, boss, head of firm, professional, etc
cameraman	photographer, camera operator
fireman/men	firefighter, fire crew(s)
dustman	refuse/rubbish collector
ice cream man	ice cream seller
policeman/men	police officer, or (pl) police
salesman/girl	sales representative, sales assistant, sales staff
steward/ess, air hostess	airline staff, flight attendant
chairman	chairperson, chair
best man for the job	best person
man or mankind	humanity, human race, humans, people
manhood	adulthood
man-in-the-street	average citizen, average person
manpower	staff(ing), workers, workforce
manning	staffing, jobs, job levels
man-made	synthetic, artificial, manufactured
railwaymen	railway workers/staff
male nurse	nurse
lady doctor	doctor

housewife	often means shopper, consumer, the cook
mothers	often means parents
girls (of over 18)	(young) women
spinster/divorcee	these words should not be used as an insult
he, his	sentence construction can be changed to use they or theirs
Mrs, Miss	offer women the choice of being called Ms
John Smith and his wife Elsie	Elsie and John Smith
authoress	author (avoid -ess where possible)
doll, bird, chick	woman
spokesman	spokesperson, official, representative
ladies	women
men and women/boys and girls	women and men/girls and boys
he or she	she or he

5. Writing an art brief

- * Try to maintain a 50/50 balance between the sexes - numerically and in terms of the significance and prominence of the activity illustrated. This balance is not achieved by having photos that are predominantly male in the same book with line drawings that are predominantly female.
- * Illustrations should include all physical types and occasional evidence of physical handicaps, avoiding stereotyped associations with these images.
- * Where photographs are requested to show people of different races and sexes, please leave the brief fairly open to allow us to achieve the correct balance. If it is essential for a brief to be very exact, please consult the art editors in advance so that they can advise on availability of suitable photographs or models.

January 20 1988

GUIDELINES FOR INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

A significant and growing number of people are concerned about sexism in language and the general exclusion and invisibility of women and minority groups from written and spoken language of all kinds.

These guidelines have been compiled as a reminder to people involved in all aspects of ELT publishing to be aware of discriminatory language and stereotypical images and, wherever possible, to use inclusive language and images which reflect a more balanced view of the world.

The points that follow are a starting point and are not meant to be exhaustive. While they focus principally on sexist bias, the ultimate aim is to avoid discriminatory language and stereotypical images in whatever context (eg age, class, ethnic origin, disability etc) so that the books we produce are fair and balanced in their portrayal of all members of society.

oOo

Visibility

Over half the population is female. To provide a balanced view of the world this must be reflected in our text books. It is important therefore to keep track of the numbers of male and female characters in text, illustrations and recordings. Even though a simple headcount is not enough, it is a basis for ensuring a fair representation of the world.

Stereotyping

(a) Character

Women and men, whether imaginary or real, should be described as whole people. Be alert for unconscious exclusions and assumptions. Do not automatically assume that women are weak, emotional, vulnerable or scared; or that men are strong, capable or logical.

Show both men and women:

- being bold and assertive
- being gentle and compassionate
- taking the initiative and displaying self-control
- being uncertain and in need of reassurance
- belonging to a range of physical and emotional types.

Avoid showing:

- women always being instructed by, led by or rescued by men
- men always being seen as the family breadwinners
- women always dreaming of marriage as the main goal in their lives
- men always being unable to respond emotionally
- women always being preoccupied with their appearance or clothing
- women always being squeamish, weepy, passive or frivolous
- men always being powerful and able to deal with problems
- women being assumed to be inept, nagging and defeated by problems.

(b) Social

Social or role stereotyping can perpetuate the notion that if women work at all it is only for 'pin' money and that it is their job alone to keep house and raise children. Remember that women comprise 40% of the workforce in Britain.

If men are shown sharing the household chores they should not be portrayed as incompetent and naturally resentful.

Show, in situations where this is realistic:

- women in managerial positions or as artisans
- men caring for children and competently completing household tasks.

Avoid:

- showing women as being 'kept' by men
- showing men and women only in stereotyped jobs - men as lorry drivers, bankers and fire-fighters, and women as nurses, teachers or secretaries. Jobs should not be considered 'sex-typed', nor should it be implied that any jobs are incompatible with notions of 'masculinity' or 'femininity'. There should be no implication of surprise that a person is employed in a particular way.
- describing women only by their physical attributes, marital or familial status in the same context as men are described by mental attributes or professional status.
- assuming that a woman over a certain age is married. Use Ms if the marital status of a woman is unknown or if that is her preferred title. The marital status of women should not be referred to if it would not also be referred to when talking of men.
- speaking of women as 'wife of' if a man would not be described as 'husband of' in a similar situation.

(c) Language

1. 'Man' as a generic term

It has been supposed that the word 'man' and other male generics include women. It has, however, been demonstrated that people do not make this assumption automatically. When told that 'man needs food and shelter to survive' the great majority of people visualise only men, women do not figure in their mind's eye at all. This is demonstrated by the incongruity of sentences like "Man breastfeeds his young."

Ways of avoiding the use of 'man' as a generic

Using 'man' to mean both male humans and all humans is unnecessarily confusing and inaccurate. The word 'man' should only be applied to males.

Avoid

mankind
manpower
man-made
man-to-man
prehistoric man

Try

people, humans, humanity
workforce, staff
artificial, synthetic
person-to-person
prehistoric people

If the sex of the person being discussed is unknown or could refer to women as well as men, use the plural, or 'she or he'.

Avoid

Try

man and his universe

or

humans and their universe

humans and the universe

Worktitles incorporating the word 'man' should be avoided wherever there is an appropriate neutral term.

Avoid

Try

statesman

leader, politician

foreman

supervisor

fireman

firefighter

policeman

police officer

2. 'He' as a generic term

The problem here is similar to that of using the word 'man' to mean 'the human race' - it does not correspond to the psychological reality of the reader/hearer.

Ways of avoiding the use of 'he' as a generic

Try

- Changing the pronoun to a plural, so that 'A student generally learns what he uses and forgets what he doesn't use' becomes 'Students generally learn what they use...'
- Using 'they' as a singular pronoun, e.g. 'Ask everybody to open their books.' Although this is seen as incorrect by some purists, it is common in spoken English and has a long history of use in written English (cf. William Caxton, 1470: "Each of them should make themselves ready"; Shakespeare: "God send everyone their heart's desire"). It is now becoming increasingly common in formal English (speeches, forms etc.), so use in EFL texts would reflect authentic English.

Other ways of avoiding generic 'he'

- Rewrite using 'we'/'us'/'our', so that 'No-one likes to have his opinions contradicted' becomes 'We do not like to have our opinions contradicted'.
- Rewrite in the second person, so that 'The teacher should be careful not to impose his viewpoint on the student' becomes 'It is important not to impose your viewpoint...'

- Replace the pronoun with an article, so that 'Try to ensure that every student gives his opinion' becomes 'Try to ensure that every student gives an opinion'.
- Replace the pronoun with a noun, perhaps a synonym for a noun used earlier, so that 'Work with another student. Say five things about your family and ask five questions about his family' becomes '...and ask five questions about your partner's family'.
- Omit the pronoun entirely, so that 'Unless the learner gets some unstructured input, his unconscious mechanisms...' becomes 'Without some unstructured input, the learner's unconscious mechanisms...'.
- Replace the pronoun with 'the one', 'the other', etc, so that 'They then stand back to back, and each says what his partner is wearing' becomes '...each says what the other is wearing'.
- Use 'he and she' or 'his and hers', but not when you have to do it repetitively.
- When a 'he' refers to an animal whose sex is unknown replace with 'it'.

3. 'Female' titles

Female versions of work titles or professions are usually unnecessary to convey meaning.

<u>Avoid</u>	<u>Use</u>
conductress	conductor
authoress	author
manageress	manager
poetess	poet

4. The term 'girl'

Referring to a woman beyond her middle or late teens as a 'girl' can be patronising or demeaning. Beware of using this term in situations where men would not be referred to as 'lads' or in other similar terms.

5. Quotations; transcripts of spoken language

If we quote someone, we must transcribe their words accurately. However, here are some ways of avoiding or lessening the effect of any sexism:

- quotations can be paraphrased
- sexist words can be put in brackets
- [sic] can be used
- only part of a quote need be used.

6. Salutations in letters

Avoid using 'Dear Sir/s' as the salutation when addressing an unknown person or group of people. Use 'Dear Sir or Madam' or 'Dear Madam or Sir'. This is acceptable usage for EFL exams.

oOo

Further reading

Man Made Language Dale Spender, Routledge & Kegan Paul (1980)

The Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing Casey Miller and Kate Swift, The Women's Press Handbook series (1980, 1988)

The Non-Sexist Word Finder A dictionary of gender-free usage, Rosalie Maggio, Beacon Press (1988)

Sex Stereotyping in School and Children's Books Education Publishers Council, The Publishers Association (1981)

Non-Sexist Code of Practice for Book Publishing NUJ Book Branch (1982)

'isms'

We are committed to making every effort to exclude racism, sexism and stereotyping from our books. When writing any material please make sure that you don't fall into the trap of perpetuating stereotypes or being, however unconsciously, racist or sexist.

Sexism

In our materials we aim to maintain a 50/50 male/female split. Please do not attribute characteristics, occupations or exclusively subservient roles to women, for example, hysterical woman driver, devoted secretary, fragile flower. Members of both sexes should be represented as whole human beings with human strengths and weaknesses.

- Allow women to be praised for boldness, initiative and assertiveness to exhibit self control
- Allow men to be praised for gentleness, compassion, to respond emotionally
- Avoid generalisations about abilities according to sex

Non-sexist and inclusive language

Instead of:	try:
man or mankind	humanity/human beings/people
girl (for an adult)	woman
man in the street	average person
best man for the job	best person
chairman	chairperson or chair
spokesman	spokesperson
saleswoman/salesgirl	sales representative/sales assistant
manpower	workforce/staffing
Mrs/Miss	offer women the choice of Ms
he or she	s/he
he/his	sentence constructions can be changed to use they/theirs

Equal respect

Women and men should be treated with the same respect, dignity and seriousness. Women should not be identified by their physical characteristics while men are defined by mental attributes or jobs.

Avoid describing women according to marital status unless relevant to the topic under discussion, treat them as people in their own right. Avoid speaking of women as possessions, for example, John and his wife, Elsie.

Inappropriacy

Due to the sensitivity of some of the markets for which we produce books, we have to be very careful about the topics which we cover. Obviously when producing books for the UK and northern European markets most subjects are acceptable but in more conservative and religious markets there are various things we must be very careful with. The list below should be used as a guideline but please do discuss any topics you feel strongly about using with your editor.

Alcohol (Middle East)

Anarchy

Abuse

Aids

Israel and six pointed stars (Middle East)

Narcotics

Nudes and flesh (Middle East in particular)

Names (do not mention any well-known people without permission)

Politics

Pork (Middle East)

Pornography

Religion

Racism

Rape

Science when it involves altering nature, e.g. genetic research

Sex

Sexism

Stereotypes

Sensitivity to people's culture, beliefs and traditions as well as awareness of disputed borders (don't mark these frontiers on maps) and accuracy in our presentation of other cultures

Terrorism

Violence, the police, the military, weapons, capital punishment

Author Guidelines

7.6 Countries and nationalities

When using names of countries and nationalities, the sensitivities of those countries and regions must always be taken into account. The following examples represent typical areas where great care must be taken.

Country names

- developing countries, not underdeveloped countries or third world countries
- East Asia, not the Far East
- the Netherlands, not Holland
- Latin America includes Mexico
- South America does not include Mexico
- the UK, not Britain (which excludes Northern Ireland)
- nationality: UK citizens, not British citizens
- the USA, not America (which includes South America)
- nationality: US citizens, not Americans

Names of races

- Inuk (sing), Inuit (pl.) or Aleut, not Eskimo (offensive to people of the race)
- Native American (note caps) or, preferably, a specific race such as Crow or Sioux
- avoid the word Indian in terms such as North American Indian, Red Indian
- Native American names for legendary figures, e.g. Tashunca-Uitco, not Crazy Horse

7.7 Cultural dos and don'ts checklist

The issue of cultural sensitivity affects both the textual and visual content of all ELT material. Artwork must be thoroughly checked for any items that may prove incomprehensible or offensive to local value systems in the target markets. The following represents only a brief checklist and any areas of doubt should be researched and checked.

Style of dress

- is tight or revealing clothing acceptable in all target markets?
- should beachwear be restricted to one-piece costumes only?
- are shoes allowed to be worn in the house?
- would overtly expensive and fashionable clothing cause offence?

Religion

- is the content free of all religion-specific symbols and icons?
- are religion-specific contexts and customs portrayed ?
- are any references made religious beliefs and practices in the target markets?
- are there any religious jokes / humorous references?
- are any taboo foods mentioned / shown?

Friendship between sexes

- are men and women allowed to work together in all the target markets?
- is physical contact between men and women allowed outside marriage?
- what taboos govern the social interaction of men and women in the target markets?

Smoking and drinking

- are they permitted in the target markets?
- is excessive drinking socially acceptable?
- what laws govern the consumption of alcohol? (age, in public, etc)

Likely to be taboos in most countries

- drugs
- sex

Household pets

- are animals kept as pets at all?
- are animals allowed in buildings in all markets?

5 CONTENT ISSUES

SUBJECTS TO AVOID

Due to the sensitivity of some of the markets for which we produce books, we have to be very careful about the topics which we cover. Obviously when producing books in the UK and northern European markets, most subjects are acceptable, but in more conservative and religious markets there are various topics which need to be avoided or addressed with care. The 'Parsnips' list below should be used as a guideline but please do discuss any topics you feel strongly about using with your editor.

P *politics, pornography*

A *alcohol (Middle East), anarchy, abuse, AIDS*

R *religion, racism, rape, repression*

S *sex, sexism, stereotypes*

N *narcotics, names¹, nudes²*

I *inhumanity, intolerance, insurrection, -isms*

P *pork, police states, punishment (especially capital)*

S *soldiers³, science⁴*

Also **never** mark national boundaries on a map unless you have to - use physical maps, not political ones. If you have to show political boundaries, check them with the market. Be sensitive to other people's cultures, beliefs and traditions.

¹ Do not mention any well-known people in unusual situations without permission.

² This includes scantily clad women in the artwork

³ All matters military, weapons etc,

⁴ Especially if it involves altering nature, eg, genetic research

Appendix 10

Extract from interview with a publisher

I1 = Informant 1

J = John

[] remarks made by interlocutor

I1 ...we do have to be quite culturally sensitive [yeah] erm so for example, it would be taboo to mention Ephesus because ther- that offends Greek sensitivities and erm

J Why because it's called something different for them, is it, or ...?

I1 No I don't think so, I think it's because erm of the history, the recent history you know in 1923 there was the, there was the war, the Greek erm Turkish war an- and erm I, I think they feel it as, as a great national loss [ah right] those sort of Greek cities, erm Greek, Graeco-Roman cities on, on the west coast of Turkey [right] so yeah we have to be careful about things like that [hmmm] erm and what we tend to do is we tend to have a balance of, of references ...

J (repeating question 1) ... do you think that's valid?

AH-S: No I don't actually, I don't think the global coursebook is dead. I think what has tended to happen is that perhaps we've increased the amount of research we do. So what we do is we choose a lead country erm as a market, and several subsidiary markets. The kind of issues that we're looking at are, are really syllabus and methodology issues, so for example what we're looking at are the number of class hours erm the preferred classroom techniques erm various constraints of the classroom so those sorts of issues rather than erm anything such as how many Ahmeds and Aishas erm do we, do we put on the page. It is actually quite difficult to out local the local publishers, and also I think at the moment local publishers have a reputation for not having good quality coursebooks, so it's actually not desirable to have a non-international coursebook, in, in certain in my markets ... so, so what we, what we try and do is, we try and do coursebooks that we have researched in a number of countries but with one lead country where it absolutely has to be right for

J Because that's the bigger market?

I1 Because, well yes, that's the bigger market, and that's the sector that we're, we're primarily aiming at. But that doesn't mean to say that it's not an international coursebook. The latest coursebook I, I've been doing, we've, we've done main research in Turkey, we've done secondary research in Poland, in Greece, erm in Brazil, in Argentina, in Portugal, in Spain, erm in Hungary, a number of other markets where we've consulted, erm but our, our main advisors have been in Turkey. So in that sense I wouldn't say that the, the global coursebook is dead, it's just that we tend to agglomerate markets where you've got particular features, either a fast pace, or a particular methodology, or a particular set of teaching and learning circumstances, and we will go with that sort of, type of thing. With [name of coursebook] we've made it the right length, we've added the right amount of revision, and it's those kinds of methodological issues, rather than something quite superficial, which is do you choose a topic which has got Cappadocia in it, erm or do you choose a topic about

markets and put erm the covered market in Istanbul in it. That is very much I think a secondary issue erm and that's what teachers also think, which is, which is quite encouraging in that other markets probably have stronger preferences for erm more locally based material ... I think that the role of those more specific references tends to be, tends to be taken up, I think by supplementary materials. So you've got your main coursebook as, as your base erm sort of product, base component and then you've got other books which are designed more specifically for a particular market, and which may have local authors ... generally speaking it's still a global coursebook, it's just that it fits a particular set of teaching/learning circumstances and it's those, rather than the cultural references, if you like, that are important.

....

J Just looking at question 6 there (his name), what do you think about that?

I1 ... we work with authors primarily [hmmm] and an author will write material and where we spot it erm and where our advisors spot it we will make changes ... I think where it does get modified erm if I'm, your know absolutely honest, is where we haven't picked something up and it's gone through two or three rounds of proofs, if we then say yeah but hang on we've got, erm all the drivers of the cars are male, for example, erm in, in, a I don't know in a photo-story sequence or something erm and it's a late stage and we've taken the photos, if we then go back to our main market and say look we've spotted this, do you think we need to make this change, and they say no, then that's where the modification comes in, we know that we've slipped up but are we going to make an expensive change at a late stage? No we're not if the main market doesn't pick it up, what we try and do is we try and pick it up earlier ... there are a number of other issues which I think are important... for example Turks are very sensitive if, if we have an illustrator who draws them as Arabs, if we say oh Turks, they're all Arabs aren't they, you know I mean no they're not, they don't look like Arabs and the sensitivity's there, erm so, so we would bear that in mind in briefing very carefully the illustrators erm and in point of fact I think that's, that's not discrimination against a particular country, that's making sure that if, if we have a character that is supposed to be Turkish that they look Turkish and we will supply cast photos for example to an illustrator to make sure that, that is the case 'cause often it's not, our, our illustrators may not have erm have that background, I mean I've just had a drawing which I've rejected erm where we asked for a civil building where someone just got married and they drew a mosque and in, thinking oh this is a book for Turkey, well people do not get married in mosques in Turkey full stop, it's actually against the law erm because it's a secular state, so I will, you know, that I will make modifications on, on that and say no we can't do that ...

J OK (his name) let's move to the next one. Do you agree with that?

I1 ...it's certainly an issue in erm say Korea and Japan ... we would select our, our illustrators quite carefully, not necessarily race in Turkey and Greece but certainly the issues I've mentioned you know Ephesus, Cyprus erm and religion, you know, are, are things that are simply not covered in our coursebooks erm again it's a question of, that main thing is, is that we make sure is that if our illustrators are drawing somebody from that country we would try and make sure that that country, that, that the physical characteristics of people from that country are well represented. I think there are more

interesting issues than race actually, I think one issue is attractiveness erm ... the race agenda-type to a certain, is, is erm a side issue, it's not the main issue in terms of equal treatment of people if you like, erm yeah cultural sensitivities yes, topics yes, we modify those but erm race issues, do we, do we get rid of erm black characters? No we don't, we try and provide a cross-section of, of people erm in, in for example our, our photo-stories but what we also have to make, bear in mind is that we can try and do that, but in the main the models that we get say for photo-stories tend to be quite attractive-looking people erm and also it's, it's also the case that the students enjoy the photo-stories partly because they can idolize the characters so you're up against, that's an, an interesting sort of erm decision to be made, do you, do you have a model that's basically ugly erm in, in a coursebook, you'd have to make a positive decision to select somebody that was ugly because the agencies which we go to tend to have attractive people, the students tend to like attractive models erm and I mentioned earlier that, what I do think, so there's, attractiveness as an issue and disability erm so why do we not have people with disabilities? I, I think it's because it's OK if we're doing a topic on disability. If you're doing a topic on disability then you'd have people with disabilities in there, but in point of fact the topics that we put to teachers are approved or disapproved by teachers, so we have to be responsive to that to a certain extent, erm, and the reality is that many teachers feel uncomfortable dealing with the issue, I think, of disability erm and in Turkey for example I have been to hundreds of schools I have never once seen a student in a wheelchair or a blind student in a mainstream Turkish school, it's not an issue which is discussed erm now I mean my own nephew who's, who's Turkish has, is, is disabled and he goes to a mainstream school but I think given that culturally speaking it's not an issue which they deal with in their mainstream, there's a, there's, there is a question of cultural sensitivity there, if the teachers feel uncomfortable dealing with it because they don't deal with it in their other subjects, will they like that topic? no they won't, they won't enjoy that, they'll feel uncomfortable with it and in a sense that's also imposing cultural values, so I think we have to be very careful so it tends to be self-selecting in, in that sense, yes we would put disabled people or people with disabilities in, into our coursebooks erm probably they would tend to be in a, in a topic about disability and ability or whatever and we would seek to do that topic in a really sort of fair-minded way but in practice what happens is that you don't get those topics because teachers don't feel comfortable with those topics and they say please don't give us those topics ... [he move on to talk more specifically about representations of race] ... it's something that, I mean I remember sitting in an artwork meeting where we, there happened to be about four photos in front of us erm and in, and they're individual people and it just happened that about three of them were black erm and my comment was well hang on we've got to make sure that there's a right balance here erm and it's difficult because as soon as you mention it you feel very awkward erm you want to make a fair representation, on the other hand it is clear that erm, erm that if there are images which are not representative erm of British society then erm in a sense you can be accused of being politically correct in a way which is detrimental to the material, bearing in mind that we know that there is racism in a lot of countries and there is discrimination, so what we will try and do is, we will try and make sure that we represent fairly a cross-section of, of British society, or American society or Australian whatever erm but what, what we probably won't do, and we'll be sensitive to is we won't erm select so that erm the whole page is, is covered with people from a particular colour or ethnic erm background, erm having said that I mean we do occasionally make positive decisions to have a black family if we're talking about you

know the family, so it's a question of balance, it's a tricky one because it is an issue you know and I'm not saying that it's not an issue in those countries erm because it comes up every time you select a photo, you know is this, is this right? erm but I think generally speaking we will not budge on erm on what, what is a fair representation, you know, even if markets say hey listen, we don't want any black faces, they get black faces or they use a local publisher [hmmm right] and I think that's our policy and I think that's part of our integrity as editors as well and art editors and, and designers.

Appendix 11 Extract from group interview

Participants: Gary; Karen; Melissa (Mel); Max; Judy, John (Jo)

Word association: Gary: variety, society, stereotypes; Karen: theatre, groups, culture; Melissa: fascinating, rich, varied; Max: newspaper, poetry, jargon; Judy: language, traditions, food

Transcription conventions

= latching

{ ... } inaudible

(.) short pause

(name) pseudonym

(laughing) speaker laughs

[laughter] from other members of the group

M: Aren't there certain things in the language itself that are sort of culturally, you know, weighted, for example whenever you teach the word "flatmate". I remember that was in Egypt, I mean the concept was so alien that you sort of had to go into this big spiel, [laughter] you know "What's a flatmate?". It was just totally unheard of { ... } In Spain in fact it's not that complicated.

Jo: But, do you (.) sorry (Karen)

K: No, no, in Spain { ... }

Mel: No, no I think there is a big distinction with where, I think if you're a British person teaching in, in Europe it's going to be very different from, because there are lots of things in common, whereas if you're a British or a, whatever nationality teaching say in an Arab country where the culture, or say Japan where the culture is totally different, your, your culture's going to be much stronger to the students.

J: Hmmm. Erm (Max) you were saying that things like in Egypt, for example like teaching "flatmate" erm was something that, that you had maybe to go into a bit?

M: Well you had to go into it a bit, and it, it invariably end, ended you in hot water because it was sort of well "Who is flatmating with who?" and in fact it can be sort of boys and girls, and "I did" and [laughing] and it's like "Ahhh!" because it sort of involves cohabitation and the possibility of kind of pre-marital sex (laughing) and anyway suddenly you get into this very complicated thing. I remember like in fact in Egypt the successful teacher was the person who managed to stay off the hot topics, so in fact you didn't go into, you know, erm involving people in these long discussions about these very kind of complex and very kind of different erm you know, ways of, of living and so on. Well we were told, I mean for example, "You're not, don't talk about politics, don't talk about sex, religion, bla, bla, bla."

Jo: Who told you that?

M: We were told by the Directors of Studies, and people who were good teachers managed to steer the class very you know effectively around this.

Jo: And did, did you find that students wanted to ask you about things like that?

M: Umpf! It was always divided, I mean there would be some people who did want to know, but they didn't want to show that they wanted to know because the people who were more traditional would have disapproved. It was quite complicated actually.

G: Interesting because I was there a few years later. No, I think that people were a lot more interested in discussing cultural differences. I think probably, probably by then they were a lot more aware of it because they'd been exposed to so many teachers { ... }

Mel: Not good teachers.

Jo: What about here? I mean you were saying (Mel) that the, the, the =

K: = That's what I was saying, here in Catalunya now we say at school "Let's not talk about, don't bring up certain subjects"

Mel Race =

K: = Racism is the big one. People are always saying, there's always a debate in the staffroom whether you should bring it up or not.

Jo: But, when you say "bring it up" erm

Mel: Do a lesson on it =

K = Yeah. Or deliberately erm talk about issues that are quite =

Mel: = if it comes up in class =

J: = Controversial.

K: Yeah. Talk about *gitanos*, or, or

Jo: But why, what, what's the consensus in the staffroom at the moment on *gitanos* or, or race?

Mel: The feeling is that =

M: =A lot of people think you shouldn't touch it =

Mel: = Spanish society is racist.

K: { ... }, but I, I personally disagree. I think you should. A lot of people say it's best not to because you don't want to get into, I'm sure people don't like to have that situation in their classrooms.

Mel: Well no, it's a difference in culture between a British society which is multiethnic, multicultural, and a Spanish society which is becoming, now gradually in the 14 years I've lived here, when I first arrived here the Spanish people were very, very racist, and there were very few immigrants, but now there are, it's, there are a lot more, and =

K: = They're still as racist { ... }

Mel: But unfortunately there's still this racism, and it's whether you as a teacher want to con-, want to con-, want to raise that issue, or confront it.

M: Well that's the problem. I think, I don't think we're kind of competent to do that really =

J: = No, I don't think it's our position to =

M: = I mean raise, raise a really hairy thing like that and then, you know, it can blow up in your face unless you know what you're doing, unless you have some kind of training, you know, you've got a, a kind of perspective on where this can go, and how to deal with this sort of

Mel: It's very difficult.

M: It's really, really hard.

Jo: Hmmm. (Karen), you =

M: = I feel incompetent basically.

J Yeah. (Karen) you were saying that maybe you think it should be addressed in the classroom.

K { ... } you know if racism comes up I deal with it because it's something that, that, that =

Mel: = you feel strongly about.

K: Yeah. Yeah { ... }

Jo: Yeah, can I just, can I ask you just, maybe, I don't want to labour the point, but when you say "if racism comes up", what, what does that mean "comes up"?

K: For example a typical situation, for instance we start talking about Moroccans and they're all thieves, and the typical, you know, in the *barrio gótico* and the typical, and then =

Mel: = Pick pockets on the metro.

K: Yeah, they're always Moroccans, that's the typical erm for me, and *gitanos*, and that's the most typical thing for me.

G: In that kind of situation like my reaction is generally "That's a bit harsh" (laughing). I don't really go into it as a topic, it's just like I react as an adult to an adult, just say "That's a bit of a funny thing to say".

K: Yeah, yeah, yeah, the same as you would with friends. I mean that's how I feel, the same way I would react in a social situation I would react in the class, I think.

Mel: I think the big difference is that you have to be diplomatic, don't you? You don't have to, with a friend you could, you could be, you could voice your opinion quite strongly, with students you're in a, in a delicate situation because they cl-, customers, clients, and you mustn't offend. Erm I think my reaction, I had had this, this year where somebody was talking about Notting Hill, Brixton, and they were talking about they weren't, they didn't like those areas because black people lived there.

K: What did you do?

Mel: My reaction was to say erm well actually that's one thing that I particularly like about British society, that it's multiethnic, ethnic, multicultural. And it's something which is now happening in Barcelona and which I think is particularly interesting. That was how I reacted to it.

M: Yeah, how often does that happen?

Mel: Yeah, I mean I don't, I don't know. I just, I didn't want to, I didn't want to criticize my student { ... }, because I didn't, I don't think I was in the position to do that, as I say because they're a customer, they're a client, they're somebody you have to be careful you don't offend, but I didn't want to just let their remark go by, without, without =

J: = But this =

Mel: = expressing my opinion. I mean I didn't you know in a different situation well I would have said "Well I think that's a very racist comment", I didn't say that, but I said it in a euphemism, if you like.

Jo: Does the fact (Melissa) that our students are paying maybe affect the way that you teach them, do you think? Is that what you're saying?

Mel: Erm, I think it affects the way that you react to certain comment, whereas in a different social situation, you would, you would express your opinion more strongly, or more honestly. Not necessarily more honestly, more strongly I would say. I mean I was expressing my opinion. I wasn't necessarily vetoing his, his =

J: = It's a very sensitive area because sometimes I question myself whether I am, I am expressing my opinion, which may be contrary to their opinion or a student's opinion, because I am provoking a reaction from them, if my aim is, is to get language out of

them, or it's because I feel really deeply about what they're saying, I am offended by what they're saying. I think it's something that we have to be very careful about. Why, why are we getting into this discussion? Because I'm offended by what they've said, or because we want them to talk, and we want them to express their feelings? Do you know what I mean?

Mel: I think it's the difference between if you provoke a discussion or whether a student expresses a remark, which just happens to be spontaneous, in this case it was spontaneous, we were talking about England, we were talking about Britain, about London, and it just came up.

K: The same way that you deal with language as it comes up. You deal with the issues in the class, which is what I'd say, if it comes up it comes up, and you have to deal with it.

J: Yes, but how far do you take that? Do you =

M: = Yeah =

J: = cut it dead? Do you change the subject? Do you =

K: = It depends how offensive it is.

J: = steer it off into another direction? Or do you deal with it? And express your opinion, and listen to theirs, and be accepting of their opinions, as repulsive as they may be?

Jo: Are you saying (Judy) that you've found maybe that you have to sit on yourself a little bit when it comes to that?

J: Unfortunately not, I don't sit on myself (laughing), I find myself reacting as, as I would, as I would if I was with a group of friends, and I wonder if that's the right thing, or what, what is my purpose here? Why am I doing this?

Appendix 12

Interview with Eulàlia

J = John

E = Eulàlia

[] utterance made by interlocutor

J OK, (Eulàlia) how long have you been teaching for?

E 9 years here in this school, and before I taught at [institution], Spanish, and in England in a comprehensive school.

J Ah, you taught Spanish in England?

E Yeah.

J How long did you do that for?

E For one year, and then before when I was doing my degree I worked in an academy, in a language school, so all in all about erm 15 years.

E Right. OK. Can, can I ask you how old you are?

E 35.

J OK. The other thing I wanted to ask you was when you mentioned your, your university career, what degree did you do, at university?

E I studied at the Autònoma at Bellaterra, and I did English and German, [Right] yeah, philology.

J Right, and then when you came to do teaching qualifications, I mean have you done any, any qualifications specifically in teaching?

E Yes I did the four week course at International House, yeah, which used to be called the RSA Prep yeah, and then when I came back from England I did an MA in, in Language Teaching. [Right] Specifically it was the teaching of Spanish as a Foreign Language [Right] but obviously it can be applied to any language.

J Exactly, and that was here at the University of Barcelona?

E In the Central, yeah. [Right, OK] I think they are still doing it. That was very interesting.

J And when you said you did a four week course, what year was that in?

E Erm, [More or less] I was still doing my degree, so I think it was, yeah it was, yeah, between the fourth year and the fifth year, so I think it was 1986, [Right] summer 1986.

J And that was in English, not in Spanish, because

E No, no, in English, yeah, yeah, because they didn't have anything in Spanish, and I was doing English at university and everything, but it was really, really, really useful, yeah, very much, yeah.

J OK. And then of course to work here presumably you had to do an oposición?

E Yes, and that was after the MA. [Right] I did the MA for one year in the university, and then at the end of that year I took the oposiciones here.

J OK. Fine. Erm, let's move on then and talk a little bit about this framework here. I asked you to just read through it, and, and say which of the senses were the most important for you in your teaching. I mean, if at all.

E Yes, well I, yeah I thought about it for a while, because I thought they were all relevant, yes, so, and as well maybe it depends on the level as well. Erm, right, I had questions about this, about number 1 - information about the cinema, music, literature, of the country? [Yeah, yes] In the sense, like -, yeah. Erm, I thought maybe the most important one would be number 4, [OK] the pragmatic sense, because it just helps them in, in communicating, yeah, in making communication successful. Exponents for communicative functions, yeah, politeness, conventions etc. Then after this the semantic sense. Like all these, these words, what they mean in English, or the way that people use them there, or the implications of this. And then, very connected with number two I think, yes, number three. Erm, so then I would say number two, and, and maybe the last one number one, because we, we, I mean we do talk about cinema, music, and literature but not so specifically about British, although, for example, in level 4 obviously they are reading in English. They are reading books in English, and, but we don't, I mean it's very general, yeah [Right] we don't go into it, yeah.

J Yeah. OK. Fine. Erm right, OK. Erm, so basically what you seem to be saying is that, that all of these are important, but you put three and four as the most important, is that right?

E Right, yeah.

J OK. Erm, right. OK we can move on then, and let's look at erm, no I want just one final question about that, I mean, do you think that's a good framework for talking about culture, or do you think it leaves anything out, or it's complete, in your opinion?

E Well I don't know very much about it. I don't know very much about the, the topic, I mean I haven't read anything about it, or, so I don't know if it's comprehensive or not. Erm what I think is that it's not that, that maybe some things go together, I mean that it's a bit difficult to say, to separate them so clearly like this.

J Yes, yeah, because you were saying that two and three kind of [In a way yes] are related.

E Because I mean the difference with dinner, tea, and supper for example, then as well it has to do with the, the way of life, and so, bank holiday as well. Yes, there's some, many times we come across this word a *puente*, yeah, there, there isn't a word

in English for this, yeah so we, we explain this as well. Erm, yeah, I mean, I think it's, it's important to explain about the way of life, and, and that they, they know that it's, that things are different, and all this. Yeah, but this is one thing, and then the other is that I think in English, in English books, there is a lot of, a lot of erm like the icons of the culture are like very much very present, I think. And sometimes erm I don't know if they are very critical of it, I don't think they are. [Hmmm] Yes, for example in relation this, here in, in the new Headway there is a, a text about Bill Gates. [Yeah] Yes, and (looking for the material) erm Bill Gates, and I mean, oh where is it? with the, with the, ah here "The man who could buy anything", right. So

J Is, is this a piece of material that you're bringing to show me that you dislike?

E Yes, [OK] yes.

J I don't know this. This is the new Headway, isn't it. So, just tell me a little bit about it, and why you don't like it.

E Yeah, I think the book is good, I mean when it comes to methodology and teach, and materials and all these, I mean it's like all the series. But I, these make me think, yeah, because erm "The man who could buy anything", I mean how, how powerful this guy is, and "The richest private citizen in the world", erm, "He has a personal fortune which is more than the annual economic output of over a hundred countries". And I think this like, I mean there is something to be said about this, you know. I mean, obviously I'm not saying that the book, I mean it's there, you can do what you want with it, [Hmmm] but, but the thing that, they do this a lot, they, they take people, maybe Americans more, yeah, but, and then they kind of glorify it a bit, and they are not very critical, yeah. [Hmmm] And I thought about like giving them, (laughing) giving the students a photocopy about information about some of these poor countries, yeah, erm from a newspaper, erm like, but then I thought well why, I mean, don't get into you know, (laughing) [Right] into all this, I mean they can think what they want, yeah, and obviously you can always do a follow-up, [Hmmm] and say "What, what do you think about this?", and "Is it fair? is it whatever?", yeah. But I think it's like erm a bit of glorification, yes, of, of some of these, these people, and very, not very critical, yeah, of, of, of certain situations, like this one, for example. [Right] Then another one I was looking, in Flying Colours

J Can I just ask you a little bit more about because I think you, you've said a lot things there that are very interesting. One: you said that, that it's, maybe glorifying a bit and not very critical. Do, do you think, I mean as a teacher who, as someone who's been teaching for a long time, that maybe coursebooks should be a little bit more critical of the material that's in them, or

E *Clar*, it's always a question that erm, because if you want to be critical and you want to go a bit deep into things, then I mean you don't know how the, the class is going to react, or, you know if people are prepared to talk about certain things, or I mean, but the impression I got when I, when I prepared the activity was that, well OK this guy's got all these things, all this money, and all this, erm so successful, what is the secret of his success?, and all this, but erm, or this, this sentence I've read to you, the fact that he's richer than over a hundred countries, [Hmmm] yeah, and there is no, nothing, I mean no discussion or anything, whether this is, this is like morally right, or not.

[Exactly] I think in general the, I mean I think it's, the materials in English are very good, obviously better than in, in all the other languages.

J Hmmm you think?

E I think so, better, yeah because there's a lot of material, a lot of money, a lot of, I mean it's a big industry, yeah. Erm and I've, like I've studied German for a long time, and so I think I've always noticed, in German classes for example, is that it's, it's like so, they're all so deep into things like, you know that, (laughing) erm and there's, I've got a friend who says that the, the material in German is always the *critica de la razón pura*, yeah, because it's, really you have to think a lot, you know, loneliness in big cities, always like you know the third world problems and you don't find this in English books they are much more politically correct, yeah, [Hmmm] and they go a lot I think to the, to the personal. [Yeah] Yes, to the personal, yeah, er, what, yeah, what, personalisation and all this, which works, because I've seen this, it works yeah. But sometimes yeah I think that they are a bit too trivial. Although obviously they treat topics that I, that are relevant and everything. But for example I was looking at some, because I'm doing a conversation class here, yeah, one of these special courses, and the topic was politics and I looked through different books, and it's one of the topics that doesn't exist, that you don't get, I mean, you get other things, you may get advertising, you may get technology, you may get -, but for certain topics, they're just not there. So, I don't know, I mean I think well maybe there are two things here, yeah maybe one thing is the, the cultural thing, more like the fact that obviously English as the dominant language and dominant culture obviously has a lot of people like th, like him. Yes, and then there is no criticism, yes, or no questioning. And then the other thing is, is this, yeah that it's, I think they tend to go a lot to, to, to topics very much about yeah personalisation, and a bit, although it's maybe not, I don't know, I don't want to make big generalisations, yeah because, [No, no, just] but comparing with German, for example, [Right] yes, I mean, with German material, I mean I don't know if you

J I don't know anything about German material.

E You don't know anything about German, but it would be interesting to have a look, because it's completely different, it, it's just maybe a bit too much yeah, it's like the other, the other extreme, I think.

J What, too serious? Too

E Yeah, yeah. I think so, yeah, too serious, yeah, too, erm I don't know maybe you can have a word with (Max), or people who, [OK] you know, I mean I don't know what he thinks about this, but, but, really I mean, erm, like erm as well writers and Berthold Brecht, and poems, but really deep you know, and they analyse them, and a bit you know like the problems of the world, like present all the time, maybe a bit too much, I think, yeah. It's like a bit the other extreme. But this in English I mean I've found that sometimes it can be too trivial for certain people. And this, like for example this activity, which I like erm, because I mean it works, but erm, about Paul Newman (looking for the material)

J This is in Headway Pre-intermediate, yeah.

E Pre-intermediate, yeah because these other ones I'm using yeah. This isn't it. Where is it? You know this activity about Paul Newman, where is it? ... Ah, here yeah. Paul Newman, I think, I mean it's good, I mean it's, the task is one of these What I know/What I don't know, yes, [Hmmm] and most people get into it, and they know, they know about Paul Newman, they can say things and all this. But I had, I had a student in class who, who was a unionist, you, one of the, working for the unions and all this, and when we were doing this activity I remember saying, well you know like setting up the activity, and saying "OK what, what do you know about Paul Newman? What would you like to know?" and all this, and he was like you know "I don't care" you know [Laughing] "I don't care". And I kind of thought, thought about, it made me think you know that, but at the same time, most people really get into it. So I think, I mean I think they work, you know. But at the same time, well this is for example another example, yeah another American, successful, right, all this yeah. So at the same time obviously the level is very important, because I mean you cannot do the same thing at second level or fifth level, yeah, the kind of discussions, and it depends on the people as well, yes. Like I had a group, an intensive group, at the beginning of the year, and we had, I had an activity, one of these "What would you have done if you'd been in this situation?" and they were all things like you know "I erm I took my clothes off and went into the wa, to have a swim, in the swim, in, at the beach, and when the person was inside then a coach with a, with a group of people came and they had a picnic on the, on the sun, this is from Streamline actually, (laughing) [Laughing] but I think, it had always worked. And then in groups they, they had to decide, OK this is what happened to this person, what would you have done in this situation?, and explain it to the other groups, and, for third conditional. They weren't interested at all. You know they thought it was so - but that was a group a bit special yeah, because they loved discussing, and they, so that was a bit different yeah, but in general, but I had done this activity I don't know how many times, [Yeah] and it always, it had always worked. Yeah, but with these people, no it didn't. [Right] 'Cause they were into other things, yeah into like more discussion things, and erm other kind of things.

J Can I ask you, just going back to Bill Gates for a minute, you said that one of the options, or what you'd thought about doing was maybe bringing in information about those hundred countries, and then you sort of said "Well is this what I should be doing?" How, did you, how did you end up doing that piece of material? Did you do it like it is in the book, or did you change it, in some way?

E No, I did it in the way it's in the book, and that was it, probably as well because of pressures of time, I mean, it's, I remember this was Unit 6, yeah. Yes, I mean there was, I think this was a bit before Easter as well, I mean there was the time constraints, yeah and I just erm, maybe I did, well yeah there was this doubts yeah about whether to, the follow-up should be, you know, approach as in erm "What do you think about this?" erm

J And what was the outcome? Did you follow it up with a more critical look at Bill Gates or

E No, I didn't. I didn't, and as well because I doubted it, yeah, I doubted whether to, because at the same time I don't like to, to, I mean I like to be neutral you know, I mean I don't like to, to, I don't think teachers should be very, erm take one, you know

one approach, or that students identify you with a certain ideology or a certain, I think you have to try to be neutral, yeah, and it's for them to talk and to do the, so that what I try to do, and I thought it would be very much to, giving them like "OK, now you've done this, but I want to give you this". It would be a bit, for them a bit, although I could have done a follow-up and obviously reflect a little bit on situations like this, but, but this I think it was more time and, and the timetabling and everything, yeah, so like we kind of moved on, yeah, because it was all the relatives (flicking through the coursebook) and erm

J Right. OK. Well if criticism is coming, I mean like OK, maybe, maybe critiquing material does take time, erm you seem to be also suggesting that you're not sure really what our role as teachers is here, if we should be doing that. [Yes] Do you find, do you find that you have to sit on your political opinions sometimes in the classroom? or

E Yeah, I don't, I think, I mean I think I'm used to it you know, because I mean as well in, I think it's erm, I think maybe other teachers I mean show more what they think, or what they, but I don't know if it's good you know, because I think then it's very clear then for students, and then they may you know erm pigeon hole you yeah into, into a particular thing, and I think it's more like, our job is more like the co-ordination you know, giving instructions, making, you know, making sure everything is going OK, and trying to be neutral yes [Right] about it, yeah. Erm like we talked one day about the war yeah, the, the war in Yugoslavia now and, with the level four, and I was, I, I said a few things, because like it was at the beginning, so it was like really with all the, and then I kind of regretted it, because I thought maybe I talked more than them you know. So, I don't know. No, I mean now talking about it, it makes me think, yeah, why not to, to have you know, a more ... erm yeah, I mean sometimes the odd comment yeah, but ... erm I was looking for this yeah, Flying Colours, Intermediate, where as well there is a page where you have Madonna, Micky Mouse, and all this yes, and I erm, but I couldn't find it in the department, yeah, so there was another example yeah, of the typical, [Yeah] and when we, when I used this like we kind of, I said "Well, here we have these, all these American icons" and I mean, which in a way it's, it's normal because it's English yeah, so it's, the culture is, is there. Erm yeah but I don't think they are critical of their own, I think that's the whole thing, yeah they're not you know ... [OK] But then, I mean at the same time I am happy with the material, in the sense that it works. I think so, I mean in this sense I think it works, and it is a new book and I mean it's OK and when there's problems there's problems because of sometimes the teacher, sometimes the students, sometimes preparation, I mean. At the same time there's things here, for example, that I think are good. For example this, I think it's good, this image here.

J This is page 67 in Headway Pre-intermediate. What's good about about that M (her name)?

E I think the good thing is where you have the, the, the woman going on, on business and him like saying {inaudible}, as soon as, when, etc., but I think it's good.

J He's, he's wearing, he's wearing an apron.

E Yes. So I think it's a very different image from what we normally see, and as well you can always have a follow-up on this, yeah, I mean, if you want, but I think that in

this sense, for example, I think it's good, yeah, it breaks with the, the stereotype of, of him going away and her with the apron. So erm I think that's good, erm, as (fading)

J OK. Can I ask you a question about that? Why is it good to break with male/female stereotypes in your opinion?

E Erm well I think because it's like the stereotype, because it's a stereotype, yeah, because I think it doesn't respond to reality, and I think that to have images like more, more varied of women doing different things and men doing different things, I think it's, it's good as well, yeah. Not always with the, with the same things. So that's why I think it, this one, like an image I liked.

J Do you find that, that books are increasingly politically correct in that male/female dimension?

E Maybe in this dimension yes, maybe I think, I think they are more aware of this than maybe what we were saying before about the, the typical icons of the American and English culture, that they kind of throw them in without thinking that there may be critical aspects about it, yeah. So I think with this yes, I think they are more aware of this yeah. Erm like for example this, where is this one? Erm yeah, this one for example, yes about [Same book, page 60-61] about this erm this boy David Bolton, I think as well the fact that he's black, I like that. Erm she is erm yeah Korean and yeah, from a Korean mother and black father yeah. Erm so I think it's good and I think as well here, because well there are more and more black people, but I think that for example in, both in England and the United States I mean the black population is, is high so and they erm and now they start to reflect it in books and all this as part of the population, yes, and, and, 'cause if you talk about English people and all this I mean it's not only white people. But I think they have this more and more, yeah, and I like this, because there's this, this variety, yes, and erm

J And obviously when you say you like it you think it's important for students to

E Yes, to see that erm to see different peop, people, white people, black people, I mean, and, and as well, and with the stereotypes yeah before, to, to move a bit the stereotypes yeah, I think it's good because it's more, it's, first more real yes, and second it breaks with the idea that all, everything in English culture is, is white, you know or, or there is like a, a predominance of, of, of men or male activities. So in this book, I mean, I like this yeah, and as well it is true that in England and in the States, I mean there are a lot of black people, so, and they do do things as well, so.

J Do you think, do you think our students, maybe we as teachers are aware of lots of these, like the Bill Gates and the, you know the, the, let's say the black boy and the Korean girl etc. in the book. Do you think our students are as aware of these things in the, in the books as we are?

E *Clar*, I don't know about this, yeah, maybe, maybe not so much. Maybe not so much, as well because for them obviously they've got, the big weight is the language. So having time to reflect on the, the fact that this boy maybe is black and Bill Gates is, maybe it's the second thing, yeah. Because for them, first is "OK, what am I supposed to do here?" right, right, read this, answer these questions, so maybe like the linguistic

part is, is obviously is predominant, yeah. Yeah but when you talk about it, yeah, they get into it, because I, I, about this, about the picture yeah, the man in the, I asked them yeah "Do you, do you, what do you think about this picture?"

J Ah, you drew attention to that, did you?

E Yes, yeah. "What do you think?" and they said first, they hmmm, "Well it's usually different from what we, you know, what we think, you know, what we usually see", although it's not so different now, I mean like a business woman is not so, not such a big deal, yeah. But erm as an image yeah I, I thought it was good, yeah.

J So you actually drew attention, the coursebook doesn't draw attention to that, [No, no] it was really you did.

E Yeah, I don't think they do very much erm. And then here there is another one, (flicking through the book) right where is it? This one, this one

J That's page 77, [Yes] "Things go better with Coca-Cola".

E Yeah, so one, so this is the Bill Gates type, yeah. But this, I mean actually it works really well, because I know how to, the way I've been using it, it's, these things I've underlined yeah, it's well a bit of introduction, Coca-Cola yeah, what do you know about it?, and all this, and then writing these things down on the blackboard in a group. I tell them, this is, these are phrases taken from the text, now with your group decide what you think they mean, yeah, what, what you think the complete sentence is. And they really get into it because everybody knows Coca-Cola, and all this. So, and then OK, look at the, the text and, and compare, yeah. So as an activity I think it works really well, yeah and it's an introduction to past, to the passive which is not difficult, and so I mean I'm happy with the, the, the activity, erm but as well yeah "Coca-Cola is enjoyed all over the world", everybody, you know, it's erm "Coca-Cola will be drunk far into the 21st century". It always a bit of, you know this, this, well you know it's the dominant culture, yeah, we see it not only in books, we see it everywhere. So

J Did you insert anything critical into that yourself?, any

E No, now that I'm talking about it, that's what what really makes people think, (laughing) yes [Laughing]. No it's second level anyway. We joke a bit, I mean like "Things go better with Coca-Cola" yeah I may say "Is that true?"

J Ah, right so (laughing) then you do say things like that.

E Yeah, maybe more than I realise, I mean, maybe, but more, it's more not so much with intention or of awareness or anything like this, but more with erm, because, more for like the linguistic exchange I would say, yes because it's like, and obviously they laugh, they say "Obviously not" yeah. [Laughing] But this one I find interesting.

J That's page 76, [This one, yes] yeah.

E Do you know this book yeah?

J I, I haven't, I've used it yeah, but not, not recently, you'd need to remind me.

E Because this one, it's a listening. This is Bill Cole and this Camilla, Duchess of Lochmar. But here it's interesting, because here, I mean what she says is typical upper class and you know and, but I think that they don't get it because, well they get it a bit yeah, they get it a bit because obviously she's very, she's rich, she's erm erm the house, the family house, Foxton I don't know what, and erm the smell of roses always from the garden always came into the house, whereas he lived above a fish and chip shop, you know and they al, so there was a, you could compare, [Yeah] and he's like really nice, and really you know like proud of his father in the, in the market, and then the father died, whereas she's like "Oh I've never worked, I've always you know been to, to parties" and all this. So I think this is, it's good, yeah because it shows erm the differences yes in social classes. Erm {inaudible} so I think it's a good activity, in this sense yeah.

J Are you happier with material like that, that's a bit erm, let's say a bit critical, or ...?

E Erm yeah, but at the same time I'm not saying that everything should be critical, obviously not yeah. Erm ... yeah I mean, but I feel more comfortable with something like this for example yes than I would feel, than I feel with this (indicating the Coca-Cola reading) or with the Bill Gates, with all these erm, but then as well here you need a bit of knowledge yeah, like social, the social class system in England and about the aristocracy, and all this yeah. But it's funny actually because here they laugh because of the name "Camilla", yeah, [Oh right] (laughing) [Laughing] yeah because of the name, so actually the name was a bit of a, a clue to the kind of aristocracy, and all that. But the name, yeah. Yeah, I think it's, it's a good listening and maybe for a, for like a higher level you could actually explain a bit more, yeah, yeah, yeah. I think that's that.

J Yeah that's fine. I'm going to show you two pieces of material now, which you probably recognise. Erm the first one is from the old Headway. I just want you to have a read through it, and then I'll just ask you to, you probably remember it anyway, and you can just tell me what you think of it.

She begins to read the material.

J Take your time (Eulalia), there's no hurry.

She spends 3 - 4 minutes reading the material.

J So what do you think?

E Erm, well I think that as a - that I'm sure it, it works, (laughing) I'm sure it works, because it's, I mean very well laid out and it's very clear and it can be done easily, so, but then there's this other, this other side, yeah the, well it says "a stereotype" yeah, but yeah I think there are a few stereotypical things yeah like the, that they live in the south of England. Then the, as well what we were saying about men and women, yeah the fact that he works, he earns two hundred pounds per week, goes by car, chances of promotion, so everything's related to the job, yes, whereas in, in her case she, obviously she only works three days a week, she's busy with the children, yeah, the job is to be able to get out of the house, if you like analyse it a bit more yeah you see

that erm, erm, and then the [inaudible], the, the free time activities, yeah the television, going to the pub, the cinema, the restaurant, yeah. So what do I think about it in the ...?

J Or just sort of that particular stereotypical representation of, of Britain, I mean do you think that's fine, or do you think, erm I mean are you happy working with material like that, I suppose I'm saying?

E Erm, well what I would notice would be these, these two points I said, yeah, I would notice the fact that they are erm, OK I don't understand why they say they live in the south. Because, you know, "The average British family lives in a semi-detached house", OK, so instead of a flat or detached house, but why in the south? It's I think

J Do, do you think that that focus on things southern is typical?

E I think so, yeah, I think so. I think there's much more erm many more things from the south. I don't think people here know very much, I mean if they haven't been to England or they don't know people, and I mean, I think it's a bit difficult to convey it, you know. But there was a listening we had for an exam where a person, "What's the worst experience in your life?", you know the best and the worst experience, [Yeah] and there's a girl from Canada who says "The, the worst thing was the first day I arrived in Manchester." And then the interviewer says "Oh really, why?", and she says "God, I mean it was, the skies were grey, it was raining, every, everybody looked so miserable, you know everything was so dirty." He says "So why did you go there then?" You know it's (laughing) like talking about I don't know where, you know. She says "Well because I went there to study" yeah, and she says "but I didn't stay, I didn't like it." The thing is I didn't, I don't have the reference now, but I could give you a ring if you wanted to tell you where, where it's from. Erm and I, it made me think yeah as well about describing a city from the north in these, in these terms, yes.

J Do you know the north yourself?

E Yes, because X's from Doncaster, so

X is her husband.

J Ah, right,(laughing) right OK.

E So I know, I've been, I mean I'm, but maybe this is for personal reasons. Obviously before I didn't know, I, for me as well my idea of England was like the south, London, and, and all this. And then when you find out more, and know more about it then, and when I lived there as well, when I lived in London, I mean a lot of people, the way, then you realise about this thing about the divide, yes and the, so. But this happens everywhere, it happens here as well, and sometimes we tell the students it is like here, for example, there are the poor parts etc. they have, but sometimes you have it in materials yeah like, like this yeah like this description of Manchester, something erm, and here well it just caught my eye, yeah this thing about the south of England, yeah. I think erm maybe the only thing I would say is this about the, as well the aims and assumptions behind men's work and women's work, yeah, I mean the fact that she's

working, the way her job is described "service industry", "three days a week". Yeah, so (fading)

J Do you think that books are getting better in that respect with regard to this kind of thing?

E Well we said before for example that there's this image and there's a lot of erm, I think so yeah, I think it's, this aspect is, is improving.

J And what about having black families or Asian families in there? Would, would you like to see that?

E Yeah, yeah. Yeah much more, yeah because like here for example they are yeah like white Anglo-Saxons yeah. Erm and as well I mean there's something that maybe a lot of students don't know, yeah, about for example, about Asian families, or, they don't very much about this, so if there is as well all the cultural background it should be the real one, yeah not, not so much the one, the dominant one, yeah, or the, the (fading)

J OK. Here's another piece of material. It's from another book. Just take your time to read through it, there's no hurry.

She reads the material for 2 -3 minutes.

J OK. What do you think about that kind of activity (Eulalia), or that piece of material rather?

E Yeah, well this is erm well how to ask for things, yes. Erm I think would this be about this pragmatic sense maybe?, The, the fact that, I think that for a Spanish student for example this is very useful, yes, I think because, clar, we talk a lot in imperatives, yeah but the imperative form, but for us it's, it's fine to say "Doname un cigarro" or things like this, but obviously in English you cannot do that. So I think erm well it depends on the, the point of view yeah, because I think I mean as an activity ... erm it's a bit repetitive, yeah as a class activity, like just check "could you", "can you" so methodologically it's not very erm, but well then there, there is a bit of something a bit freer, where they kind of invent a bit more. But I think that as a, as a way to show that things like "I want to" for example, this yeah, or "I want a coffee", or "I want a -" you don't say these things you know. But I think this is a bit different because I think these are the kind of the conventions yeah in speaking and I think this is erm a bit different from what we were saying before about the black people, men/women, about the icons of the culture and the way that they are not, the way that they are glorified and all that. I think, but these I think it's, because if not people don't understand them you know. I think if you, if you don't use these conventions or all these, I mean I think English people use "sorry" a lot, yeah, they say sorry very much, so, but erm like yeah "I'm sorry she's in the bath" (laughing) yeah, "I'm sorry" like you wouldn't say this here, yeah, "Can I speak to -?", "No, now she's in the bath" No no esta en la, que no se pot posar, no but you wouldn't apologise. Erm but I think this is erm all this yes, about, here, norms of politeness, yes it's functional language that they need to know, and I mean it's, I think it's good I think they need to know, and erm like I tell them for example many times that when a person is present you cannot use the

pronoun, you wouldn't say "he" when the person is present in English. I mean I don't know if you, yeah, do you usually say the name, if not it's very, it sounds very rude, and they are "Oh really, really". Yeah and so, there are things that, things like this, or things that "I, I want" - No, "I would like" yeah, "Can I". I think it's, it's different yeah.

J Is that a difference between, between English and Catalan, do you think that you could use the pronoun in Catalan more?

E Yes, yes. [interruption while some colleagues speak to E] Yeah, yeah in Catalan you can say "ella diu" and the person is present and it's no problem, or in Spanish, but in English, is that right?, [Erm] yeah you cannot, if you say "he", it sounds, it's a bit rude, yeah so you say the name, yeah, erm this is from my experience yes.

J And you think it's important to point that out.

E I think so, I think so. Yeah, because I think often you see people or you hear people on television or this where the, the, their level of their linguistic competence is high, but at the pragmatic level they just don't follow the conventions, [Right] I think, I think

J Do you think that, (Eulalia) that we as teachers, that we want our students to, to approximate then a native speaker norm as far as this type of thing is concerned?

E Erm ..., yeah, well, erm. Yeah it is the way people talk, I mean it's, it's the conventions in the language, yes erm, erm, so ... I don't know about this yeah, because [Go on, yes] yeah, ... in other things I mean I wouldn't say, I don't think that it should be the model, yeah, [OK] but {inaudible}, so in the sense of erm ... clar, in a language like English yeah where there's so many people speaking English and I mean it's not only the, the property of a few countries. I mean it's, I don't know if you've heard this thing about Euro English, yeah?

J No, no, you can tell me about it.

E Yeah, (laughing) well the thing, this idea about Euro English is, is, well so many Europeans speak English, that do they have, does this person have a British accent, or an American accent, or Canadian accent, or Greek accent, or Spanish accent, or -? So finally I mean there is like the idea of a Euro English where erm I think that, that the actual words and the, and the conventions are shared, but maybe other things like pronunciation, other things are not, yeah. And, and the question is as well, I mean, *no se* I think it's a very important question and a question to think about yeah if, how much should that, I don't know, that language be a model you know in the sense that erm ... and in a language like English where people, a lot of people are studying it not because they want to [Yes] but because it's useful, important, relevant, and (fading)

J When you say a language like English you seem to be implying almost that English is unlike other languages.

E I think so.

J In what way?

E In, in the way that it's erm, it's I mean spoken all over, it's, it's, it has a status that other languages don't have. And I think a lot of people, I mean a lot of people we have here are learning it because they, they have to in the sense of if they want to travel, they want to, you know for job opportunities and all this, so, I think that it's, it's an important point, I mean if you like go and study Chinese, or Portuguese, or something here in the school it's a completely different thing. Because you have people who study it because they want to, for loads of different reasons yes, but erm I mean, I mean it's amazing, we have a satellite dish and we watch BBC World a lot and CNN, more BBC World, and then you see erm I mean all the interviews, they interview people all over and everybody speaks in English, yeah. Obviously you watch Spanish tv and you always have the voice on top and all this yeah, and I thought about this, yeah about how, obviously in England like for the BBC, to have people from all over the, the place and interview them and all this, and everybody, better or worse, speaks in English. [Yeah] So I think the status of the language is different, yeah, and in this sense maybe as well we want to be careful about it I think, yes, because at the same time we are, *clar* when it comes to, we are convey, we are like participating in it, you know in the, in the, in this, so, by teaching it, by you know, so, we, we want to think about it I think, yeah. Although at the same time I think that people who say "No, I'm not interested in English" you know linguistic imperialism and all this, obviously I think they are wrong, because first, it's not the language in itself, (laughing) it's the way, it's the, the political and economical situation, yeah, and secondly I mean you are not in the same position if you can speak English or you can't. In, in many areas, yeah, so.

J What do you mean "you're not in the same position"?

E For jobs, for reading, travelling, I mean you're better off, I mean that, it's clear, yeah that, the, the possibilities you have in, in your studies, in, professionally, meeting people and all this, you are better off if you, if you know English than if you don't. I mean, so, so I think that erm it's important yeah but for people to do it yeah, and to learn it and to, to be able to use it, and *clar* but at the same time we have to, that if it has this status it's because of the background. And then not to ... and then, and that's why I think this Euro English is an interesting idea because it's, it's like saying "Look now this a German speaking in English, now this an Italian speaking in English". There are foreigners speaking in English in, in books, yeah. Erm having all these people, because maybe, I mean because if you travel around Europe and you don't go to England you will be talking in English to people from, from all these countries, yeah. So maybe it's not so much a language that comes from England or America, and we have that model there, but something that we all use, [Right] you know, something that, like try to not to have the model there so much, yeah.

J You're talking a lot here about pronunciation are you?

E Erm, *clar*, pronunciation and, and, erm well I mean maybe it's the only area, yes, and then because other areas ... erm, *clar* you cannot change the grammar, yeah you cannot change I mean the vocabulary (laughing) or things like this, yeah. Erm but as well deciding what you, what you want yeah, the kind of language you want to know, the kind of areas you are interested in. You know you may be interested in literature, or you may be interested in this and that, so then going for those areas, you know not

thinking that you have to, to do everything, or know everything of the language, choosing yeah, being able to choose a bit yeah, I think. And erm and things like this I think, clar, here the thing is that if you say "I want to", or "Pass me my coat", or "Lend me five pounds", *clar* the other, you would be breaking a convention in, the, the problem would be that the other person would misunderstand you, [Right] so here is where I, I don't, *clar* because then you would create a, then you would sound rude...

Tape stops here. I turn it over.

... the whole thing about being erm understood properly, I think, you know. Yeah, and that's, that's the point yeah, I mean being able to communicate and understanding the other person and for the other person to understand you, yeah, at this level yeah, not having that model there. And I think for non native teachers it's, it's very important actually to think in this way yes, because otherwise you always feel you are in a worse position yes, and I think this can be very, have bad effects you know, for your job and everything because, *clar*, you are never going to be a native, you know, so, no matter, you know, how well you try to do it, you know you are never, so you cannot think of yourself as always like "Yeah, but I'm not offering enough" or, yeah because this is (fading)

J Would you welcome a move towards let's say teaching a more Euro English, in your own practice yourself, or ...?

E Erm, but more for the yeah because I think the realities of the, of the language yeah and the fact that I mean I was saying to you with the BBC I mean you see that there are so many people speaking English in, from different parts of the world, and with different levels hmmm, and actually communicating and erm, and yes I don't think people, I mean when you like play a tape and there's a Japanese person and a German person speaking, nobody ever says yeah, you know "I want to hear", you know, "Americans" or "I want to" no, they, I mean they talk to each other a lot, so erm yeah, I think it would be, I mean I'm not, I really haven't thought very much about it, yeah but I think that yes everything that erm moves it a little bit from the, this is actually an idea, what's this guy erm 'cause we saw a talk here in the Jornades with this, this Greek

J Ah, Luke Prodromou.

E Yeah, he talked about this. About this, I mean it was really good actually, Scott was there as well, so anyway, he talked about this, about this question of erm, obviously English is very useful, English is necessary, I mean we, we want it, but how can we find a balance between this and the fact that it doesn't have to be American culture as a model, yeah, and everyone down here how can we reach there? how can we, American or English yeah, how can we reach there? They are, the native speakers are the only ones who can speak about the language, can say things etc. and then everyone else here is, or "Poor us, we have to" you know, so he was like saying this, and I thought it was really really interesting, and I said it to him after the talk, and as well for me personally this thing about maybe, maybe if I was a native speaker I wouldn't, I don't know, I wouldn't ask myself all these questions, but as well, I think that if sometimes we don't feel confident or so, it has to do with this, with the fact that "Oh, I'm, you know I'm, is my English good enough? Is it, you know always, is it, but

good enough?" to do what? you know, yeah, I mean, to talk to you like this, yeah we, we understand each other. But is it good enough in relation to that model? Yeah, so maybe I think this question is, and he was saying this yeah and it was really interesting the way he was saying "Let's erm make it ours" instead of it's theirs and we have to look, look there and look up, and all this, and say "OK here is English, and we are all using it", you know. And I don't know this about this concept of Euro English, it was him, or where I got it from. I think maybe it was him who actually said it, but basically that is what he was saying, yeah. And then he showed us some materials, like two people talking, I think in actually it was in Yorkshire, or, and really colloquial language and he was saying what's the use of this. Well

J What's the use of this for teaching?

E For teaching, yeah, because it's so culture specific yes, it was like really really hard and really, and sometimes this is presented as the real language, yeah. And then he, he played a tape with a Greek person and a German person speaking in English yes, and said "What about this?" You know, I mean maybe this may be more relevant, what they were talking about as well, they were talking about business yeah, than these people in you know in Yorkshire talking about some, I don't know, something on television, or something yeah. But really very colloquial language, and really with an accent that was like really hard and like saying people like, a lot of people sometimes say "This is the real language. This is what we have to teach". And he was saying "What is the real language?" I mean in a language like English where it's spread all over yeah, and I thought it was very interesting, you know it just make me think about this, and say well you know we have to think of ourselves as users of the language, as speakers of the language, it doesn't matter if we are native or non native yeah, like we use the language yeah, OK it's the first language, you know this, but we have to make it ours, and not feel, you know and I think this, I don't know, this like gives you confidence.

J That's very interesting, I mean this whole notion of making it ours as you say.

E Yeah, rather than always having always that model there and not, and feeling "Am I, am I up to it?", yeah "Can I?" you know it's

J Do you feel that you've made it yours (Eulàlia)?

E Well half, half. (Laughing) [Laughing] Sometimes I doubt, I doubt it yes, and I think like talking about these things make you, make you think about it, make you feel maybe a bit more confident, yeah. Erm, and the same thing for students as well yeah, say not so much as well this idea of "that language there", but OK see what you can do already, see what you, and erm as well this orientation towards like a more European thing or, yeah, using it with, in, in Italy, using it in Germany, using it in hmmm. Although I mean I'm not saying that you don't, but I don't think people, I don't think people are so interested in the, in the cultural background you know. Maybe a language like Chinese, for example, yes because people who study a language they also like the culture, interested in the culture, but with English maybe they are not so curious about, some people yes maybe they, because what they want is the language as a tool.

J And this business, just going to, I don't want to harp on about this, but this business of "making it ours", or making a language that we're learning ours, how, how could we do that? How can we make the language ours, that we're learning?

E Erm, students, [E says goodbye to her colleagues] who students or teachers?

J Any of us, those of us learning languages. [Erm] Or you, OK you as a, as a teacher of English and maybe your students, I mean

E Yes, maybe of not, not feeling so much that there is a, a model yeah that we, we, in, in measuring our capabilities and abilities in using the language according to that model of like native speakers yes, because, but seeing it or looking at all these other people yeah who also speak English who are not native speakers and who can communicate in it and use it yes, and, and as well choose yeah, decide "What do I want from the language? What kind of areas am I interested in? What kind of things do I want to do with it?" I mean yes and feel that erm yeah that you are a user of the language, yeah, that you can operate in it and all this, rather than think about your competence, about your, you know maybe this would be a, I don't know, I'm thinking, thinking aloud a bit, [No, that's fine, that's very interesting] you know but erm, ... and as well this, yeah and as well erm being aware yeah that this predominance of English is related to, to factors that are not linguistic, yeah and that, and that as teachers then our position should not be not so much to encourage all this idea that English is so great and so important and so, but at the same time to see how yeah but so that it's important and it's useful but yeah you choose, you decide, yeah I mean (fading)

J OK. That's fine. Let's move on then to the final, to the final part of our chat. I've got here (Eulalia) like four statements made by various people about this whole sort of like culture/language thing, and it's like a kind of true/false activity. I'm just going to give them to you, you just read it, erm you say "Well I agree, I don't agree" and say if you agree why you agree, or I mean just tell me what you think of the statement. OK? Right.

E (Laughing as she reads the first statement) Yeah, no, yeah it doesn't have to be. I mean it may be, as I was saying to you before maybe it may be very relevant in a language like Chinese or Portuguese where people really want to know about, about the culture, erm but in English, in a language like English it may be a bit of an imposition there, although you may have students who are interested, yeah it doesn't mean it has to be, but I think that with a language like English not necessarily, I mean this thing about the British family you could have it on the German family, for example, yes.

J Do you think that, that teaching the language does imply at least the 3 and 4 here (referring to the Adaskou framework handout)?

E Yes in a way yes because this is like, but this is more at the linguistic level, in a way yeah, the linguistic level which has erm what we were saying before about this, I mean here it's functional language, yes it's the, the pragmatic area. Obviously it is also cultural yes but I would look at it more like in a functional way, in a linguistic way, and conventions of the language yeah not so much as a cultural, cultural thing, you know. [OK] And then this one about dinner, tea, supper, erm yes I mean as well you

could say for example in the north of England they will say dinner yes, they don't say lunch, they say dinner yeah, but in other parts yeah they say lunch yeah, so, but I think people would be more interested in knowing dinner - what does it mean, dinner? Is it dinner? Or tea, what's the difference between dinner and supper?, but the equivalent here rather than going into in the north of England it's this, in the south of England it's that. So maybe more about the, relating it to the situation here

J Right. To their own

E Yeah, to their own [culture?]. Yeah, so that when they want to say "Enem a sopar" they know, they have to say dinner, or tea, or supper, or what, at the same time understanding the differences yes, but maybe not going very much into it, yeah, that's what I mean, yeah, yeah.

J OK. Fine (handing over the second statement).

E Hmmm (laughing). Well then it's what the aim of an, of an English class I mean, it's to teach the language yeah, not to, to go into other things but, erm I think this depends on the students, depends on the group, depends on the level, depends on the teacher. I mean if at the same time you want to use the language and the discussions and all this as a way of like knowing and caring about the world, I would say it depends, yeah. I think for some people learning the language they want to learn the language because they want to be able to use the language and that's it. Then maybe for other people it's also an opportunity to reflect on things and think about the world we live in, but the world we live in yeah, not erm, it depends I think, yeah I would say it depends, but in general maybe not, not so much, I mean not, I would say that this is, could be a second aim or second thing yeah. Hmmm because as well many times knowing and caring about the world we live in is transmitting the dominant culture yeah, so we want to be careful about, about what we mean by this yeah. Yeah if it's reflecting about things and all this it's very interesting but maybe not, I don't know if people want to do this. I mean like I've got this conversation group and we talk about things and all this but I think for them it's more interesting the, the linguistic side yeah, the fact that they can use the language and talk and learn vocabulary and all this than the actual reflection, yeah, maybe people have other, another forum, you know places where to do this.

J And does the same go for being critical of the dominant culture?

E Sorry?

J Does the same apply to, to being critical of the dominant culture? Do you think that, that if people want to do that, fine

E But if they don't want to do it, no, [Exactly] no. Because I don't think, and sometimes they don't understand it. Because I noticed this with this conversation group, because I showed them a video from, recorded video from CNN where they talk about languages in Europe, and they say "Europe is a tangle of tongues", all these languages you know from the American point of view. Erm and then we were talking about this, about languages, and the European Union, yeah because they work with all the languages and they translate everything etc., and I talked a little bit about this

dominance of English, and, but I noticed that they didn't kind of like it very much, you know, and I thought "Oh hang on here. These people are here, they've paid for the course, they spend two hours here, I mean what they want is the language you know." I mean maybe they, or that group in particular yeah, so, I'm you know like a bit careful about this, yes, because erm they may, I mean I thought it was very interesting in the Jornades when this Prod, Prodro yes, talked about it with teachers, and everybody here, I mean it was packed, and people liked it very much and everything, but in a class? ... I've never heard the students being critical of, maybe, in a class yeah, usually they've, as well I mean at the same time, dedicated all this time and effort and everything, I mean, what you want is, is to learn yeah, you know. I don't know if I'm being a bit contradictory here, [No] you know. You see I mean [No, no I think it's clear] yeah I think there are the issues yeah, and the other the way, if the class is the place to talk about them or not. Obviously it always depends on the students yeah. But with this group for example I found that they were more interested in English, in learning English, in speaking in English, than actually reflecting on the status of English, 'cause they know it. So you know, so, erm

J OK. That's fine. [yes, and yeah, that's (fading)] OK. Another one (handing over the third statement). This is slightly longer. Just take your time to read that. Nearly finished.

E Hmmm I think this is true erm (both laughing). Yeah, I think this is true yes, that erm yeah, yeah I mean this is erm, it is true yeah, that there's very much this, yeah very much these kind of things yeah. At the same time I mean I think they work, yeah, 'cause there's this as well (laughing). I don't know if this is contradictory or what, but [No] erm, yeah this thing about leisure yeah, I mean leisure, travelling yes, erm hmmm "not being bored" yeah "being entertained" yeah, I think it's true yeah, but, it, it gives very much an image of like loads going on, and lots happening, and being international and cosmopolitan, but at the same time not. So erm ... yeah I think so. I would say I agree with this, yeah. Erm and there, there is now this thing on leisure, you always find it everywhere yes, erm, but not, no, not discussion about the actual activities, or activities people do in another, other parts of the world, or, it's like erm, yeah you have, yeah materialistic and as well as being, being always busy, with loads of things yeah, yeah so, yeah I would say I agree with this yeah. Hmmm.

J And do you think coursebooks should be like that, or could, do you think ...?

E I think they should, I think they should like not be so much like this yeah, I think it, they, they - take, take it a bit easier yeah, and see that not everybody has this like full life like you know they are trying to convey, yeah. Like this thing about travelling for example, yeah, I mean some students haven't, I mean they've never moved from here, they've never travelled on a plane for example, things like this, yeah. And there you have a, erm, yeah "I used to live in London, and now I live in Paris", for example, I mean you know and it's like so alien to them. But they get into it, I mean they kind of, so that at the same time I think that it works in a way that I'm not sure exactly why better than the German material. You see, I think the German material is, is awful

J (laughing) Obviously you had a really bad experience with the German

E No, no, I mean I like it, I, I like it, you know I mean I like the language and everything, and like as a teacher I can see yeah, but I mean I've always noticed yeah that it's erm it's really, I mean it's really, that's why (both laughing) my friend says *critica de la razón pura* because it's really, erm, there was a, a poem as well to teach the, the, the possessive yeah saying like "Your, your skin is not my skin" you know like "Your Hitler is not my Hitler" you know like [Laughing] really things like this, yeah, not, not all of them yeah, but the majority yeah, and the higher level. So, and then it makes you think, yeah so this, this is the culture behind it, it's the, the country that produces this kind of things. And obviously Germans are really, (both laughing) you know, whereas I think with English it would be the trivial thing. Yeah, the trivial, the trivial, *clar* it's not only that, that, but yeah, but international travel, leisure, these free and easy things, not very compromising, yeah. So, but at the same time methodologically we, we can say that I mean it works, it works. So (fading).

J OK. This is the final statement here.

E Yeah I think that's true, yeah. Yes because this is erm this is what they get, yeah this, but this would be maybe in all languages, yeah not only, but they get this kind of thing and obviously they, they then they have to deal with it, yeah. Erm

J Do you think it's important erm for students to have the space to respond to, to this flow of information?

E Yeah, I think so yeah, I think so. Although we, we were saying before that sometimes they don't, sometimes you give them the space, little bit and kind of don't respond very much yeah, but then you have people who are more active yeah or want to say more things and, and yeah I think so, yeah I mean I think they, it should be a two way thing yeah, not so much like all this receiving yeah. Hmmm, don't know, yeah I think so.

J OK. Fine (Eulalia). I'm just going to ask you two final questions to finish. Erm one about coursebooks and the other one just about, well they're both about coursebooks. Is there anything, in, that, that you would like to see, any topic or theme or anything really, you've, you've given me some indication, anything that you would like to see in coursebooks that isn't there?

E In terms of topics?

J Yeah, or I mean even related to this whole theme that we're talking about, I mean things that aren't there that should be there you think.

E Hmmm. Erm maybe, I don't know maybe what we were saying before yeah about this being a bit more critical of the like the Coca-Cola, the Bill Gates, maybe having a bit of a follow-up yeah where it says "OK, yes, we've got this, but what do you think yeah?" Erm, erm at this level I would say it's more, but this would be self criticism yeah, so, [Self criticism?] from the, because the books, self criticism on the part of the books, the authors, the, the culture yeah, the erm, and I don't know if they are prepared to do it very much, yeah, but erm, no in cer, certain topics as well like I was saying to you before about politics, yes erm this, this would be interesting, but then it's not something a lot of people are interested in. So, and about the personalisation

which is for me it's like the main thing in in English, in material I think I would say, erm or in the activities, in the activities. I think for example the thing about, sometimes I mean they, they just don't know how to draw a line, because sometimes you have things like "What's the worst experience in your life?" I mean. Then sometimes I think they go, you know, they go too, too deep into personal things, I mean or "Have you ever had an accident?", I mean I don't think this is something to talk about in a class you know. Erm or "What's your deepest regret?" I mean you get questions like this (laughing). I mean, you see, I mean then it's like you know, I think sometimes, we've discussed this in the department yeah, it's not you know well a listening exercise for an exam about a car accident, I mean - No. You know, so there are topics where at the same time you want to be careful, I mean you're going to have to, if people want to talk about them - fine, but I think they, they get too much into, like into personal things [Right] sometimes, and as well you have to think that things that are not, things like accidents, or bad experiences, or regrets, or all this, and I wouldn't (laughing) you know, yes. I mean I'm not saying that books, 'cause like for example here there's something about a family, you know, things about family secrets and all this, and, and I noticed this (turning the pages of a coursebook) yeah, yeah "Family Secrets" [New Headway page 116] yeah "Do you know any, of any interesting stories about your family? Tell the rest of the class about it - but only if you want to". I thought it was interesting yeah, because obviously they realise, I mean family secrets (laughing) you know. I mean are you going to tell, you know. 'Cause this is about a guy, you know had a child with another woman and, and actually in the class one of the students told us about a, a family secret, but, but because he wanted to yeah. And then somebody else, but I didn't encourage it or anything, but he said it, I, and then somebody else said something else about her mother dying when she was six, and I was a bit uncomfortable because I mean I didn't know how to, you know it's like one of these things that, I mean at the same time you as the teacher are the one who are like co-ordinating them, you have to know where to, you know to stop, or what to say or, erm 'cause she lived then with her unc, with her aunt and uncle and, till she was eleven, and then her father married again and that obviously affected her very much, and, I mean I don't like to, to have these things yeah, too personal yeah. [Right] I think, I think, no I don't like it because I think it just goes beyond what we are supposed to be doing in class. And I think that this personalisation it just sometimes has, it has these risks yeah. And that's why I thought it was interesting here yes, "but only if you want to". [Yes] Yes, so, don't, obviously not pushing people into, although people know, they say what they want to say, I mean, yeah. So this would be something that I would like a bit less of, yes. [Fine] And yeah, maybe a bit more would be this yeah, a bit erm maybe more, I don't know, maybe a wider variety of topics yes, but erm, and maybe not so about erm, maybe what we were saying before, maybe not so much about American and English culture but more about, more general yes, maybe that would be, that would be interesting, [Hmmm] yes. Erm although I mean there's this series - BBC English actually, it's an old book, but they've got, like the protagonists are a Japanese person, an Italian person, a yeah, they're all in England but they are, yes, and so yeah, yeah, with, together with British things and American things, I mean I'm not saying it should only be international, international, a balance yeah maybe on that yeah.

J Final question. Erm do you find yourself now nine or ten years on in your teaching career, or sorry fifteen years on, that you are as reliant on the coursebook now as you were at the beginning of your career?

E Erm in a different way maybe, in a different way, yeah. Erm because before I was very much in the, in the sense of that's what I had to teach, and it was a way of learning as well, erm and now I think, because I do think it's good material, I mean, you know everything I've said, but I mean I still think that well that there should be an analysis there to see exactly what you have in German, in, in Spanish, in, but for example in, with other, other teachers say to us many times "God you've got so many things in English". You know, so I think, because I mean we have like people from Heinemann and Longman at the end of every year, loads, coming. In the other languages I mean they don't, I mean they don't have all this yeah. So, and then in methodology, I mean all the research, all the jornadas, and congresses, and magazines, and I mean it's really good to work with so many things yeah. No I think, like I like the Headway series yeah, like when it comes to the activities, the skills and all this, erm I like it, so I think, the thing is I know, I think that now I can use books better than before yeah. So bef, maybe at the beginning I used them a lot because I felt I had to, and I was, I spent obviously longer preparing and everything, erm and now it's more like erm it's useful as well to have them you know as the base, basic material, I think {inaudible} students always know where they are, and what I do basically is I use, I mean I follow the book, I, I do what can be done, and then what cannot be done then I, I produce the material from somewhere else. Or I do a lot of follow ups yeah, especially this one which I know a lot yeah 'cause I've taught it a few years. [Pre-intermediate] Pre-intermediate yes, 'cause these other ones I'm teaching this year. Erm a lot of extra activities but erm maybe it's easier as well. Maybe other years I feel more like I want new things and experiment more and then I would maybe put the book aside a bit yeah, but like this year I've been like teaching the book quite a lot actually yeah, so yeah because it's, I think it can be done and it works yeah.

J OK. [OK] That's fine. Thank you very much that was brilliant.